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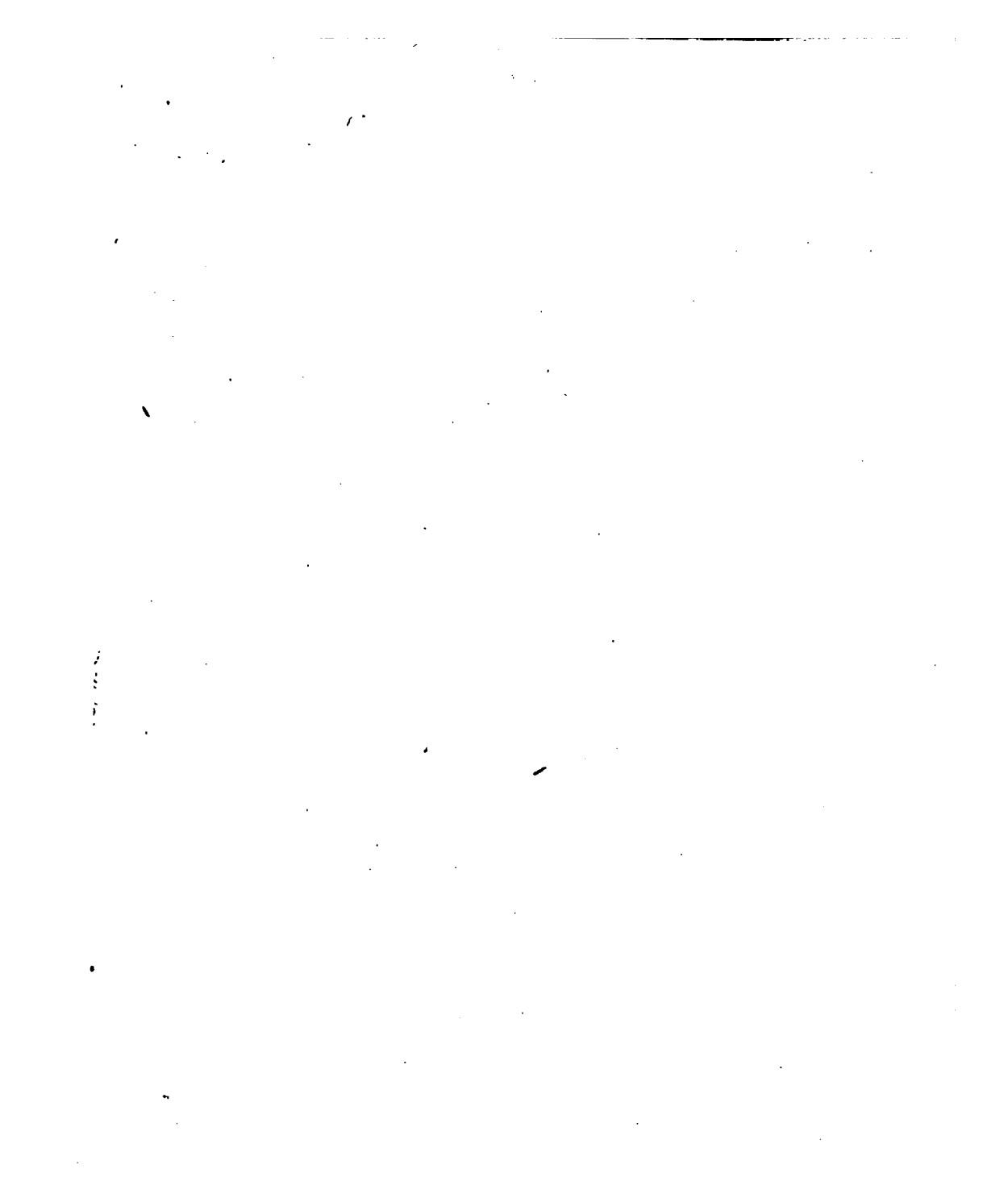
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STOW MARKET, FROM THE GREETING ROAD.

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The History
of
S T O W M A R K E T,

The Ancient County Town of Suffolk,

WITH SOME NOTICES OF THE HUNDRED OF STOW,

COMPILED

In a popular form from Doomsday-book—M.S.S. in the British Museum—Parish Papers in Stow
Church Chests, &c.—and connected with the History of the County.

BY THE

REV. A. G. H. HOLLINGSWORTH, M.A.

Rural Dean and Vicar of Stowmarket with Stowpland.



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TO THE LANDLORDS AND PARISHIONERS
OF
STOWMARKET WITH UPLAND, AND GIPPING HAMLET.

MY LORDS, GENTLEMEN, AND NEIGHBOURS,

I beg leave to dedicate this little work to you. It was commenced with a design of benefiting the Town and interesting the neighbourhood, by placing in a lasting form before them, some of those events which I found noticed in a large collection of old papers discovered in the church chests. I could not make it more antiquarian in its nature and form without great expense and increased size, and many curious facts have therefore been laid aside for some future explorer into the records of the past in another edition.

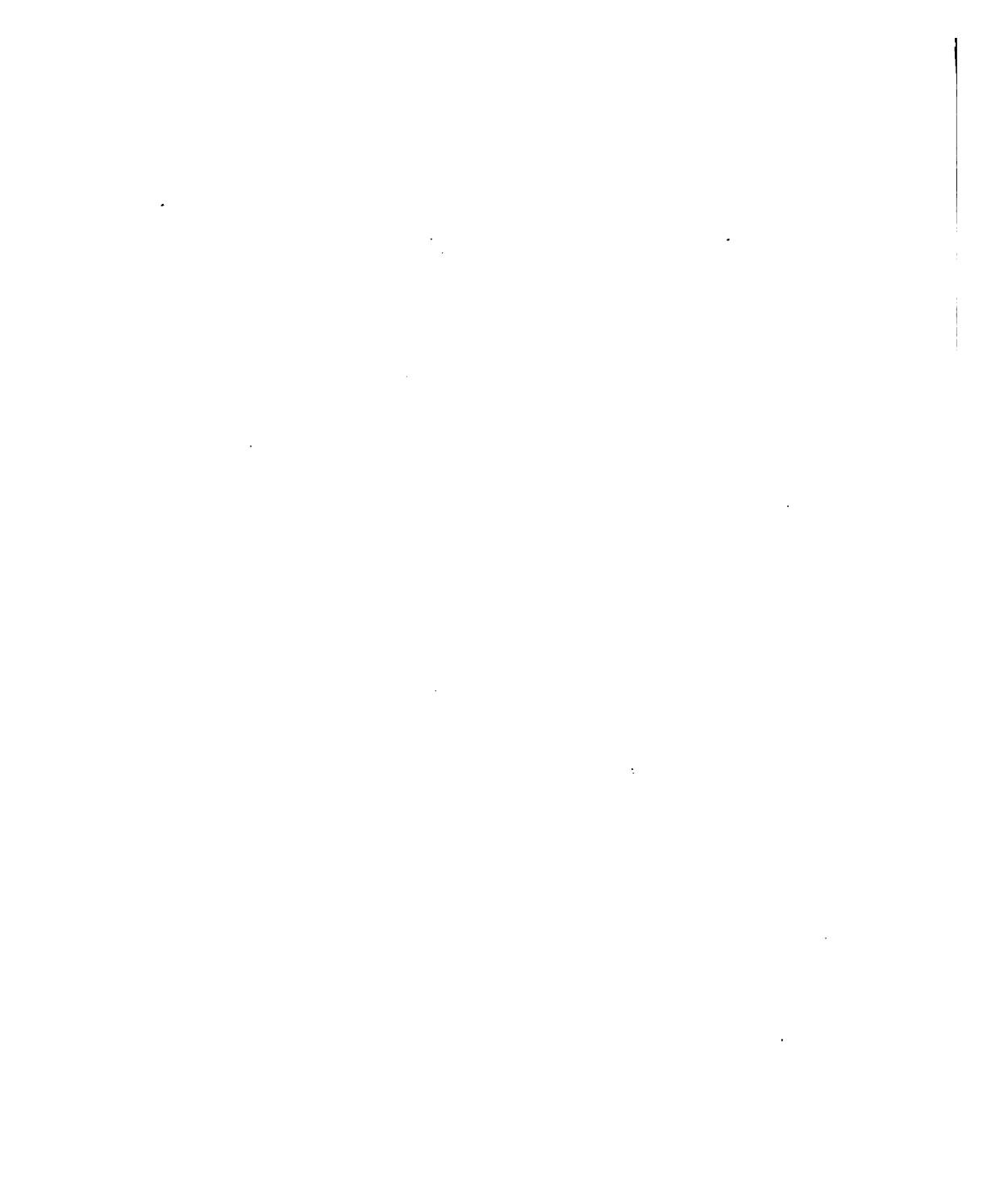
You will find in it (I presume to think) those great constitutional principles by whose strength, as founded in Holy Writ, our nation and country have become the envy and admiration of the world. Loyalty to the Crown, union with and attachment to the Church, courageous valour abroad, the comfort and welfare of the poor at home, are brilliant memorials of our race which meet the eye in every page of English History. That these may be upheld in all their power amongst us, is

MY LORDS, GENTLEMEN, AND NEIGHBOURS,

The constant prayer of your faithful and obedient Servant,

A. G. H. HOLLINGSWORTH,

VICAR OF STOWMARKET WITH STOWUPLAND.



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ERRATA.

page col.
1 1, 2 for Camulodunum read Camulodunum.
2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, for Britains read Britons.
3 2 for Cambretonio read Combretonium.
6 1 for but utrum read sed utrum.
8 1 for Herfordshire read Herefordshire.
12 2 for Dinant read Dinan.
24 1 for Ordinance read Ordnance.
25 note for Julia read Julia. for Anglicum read Anglicam. for Eluridus read Eluredus. for Blackston read Blackstone.
44 table correct the churches by Appendix.
46 1 after pace read with.
49 2 for animis read animabus.
64 2 for Seivis read Scivit. for Sultus read Cultus.

page col.
66 1 for wier read weir.
69 2 for three parts read a third part. for tria pars read tercia pars.
71 2 for is closely bound read are closely bound.
74 2 <i>dele</i> "ab antiquo varo."
75 1 for sacrilegious read sacrilegious.
77 1 for sacrilegiously read sacrilegiously. note for anathama read anathema.
79 note for injusticee read injustitiae.
83 note for Aangtorum read Anglorum.
89 1 for Cattyng read Cuttyng.
91 2 for Masoni read Mesonn.
105 2 for Oetalia read Oetatis.
120 2 for recknling read reckoning.
180 2 for Calvinistic read Calvinistic.
226 3 for Sing. read Sign.

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THE HISTORY OF STOWMARKET.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL HISTORY, FROM A.D. 1 TO 300.—THE ROMAN INVASION.

FIRST INHABITANTS.

THE inhabitants of the County of Suffolk formed, like those of other parts of England, a portion of one of those Celtic nations who possessed the Northern parts of Europe after the dispersion from Babylon, and were all descended from Gomer the son of Japhet. England and Scotland were not then divided into counties, but into larger divisions, which included a whole tribe or smaller nation. Of these, about 35 are mentioned by Ptolemy of Alexandria, a celebrated geographer, who composed a map of Great Britain in the early part of the second century. Amongst them the Simeni or Iceni are described as the inhabitants, or British nation possessing Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. Their capital city was called Venta Icenorum, Venta of the Icenes, and was situated on the Yare, and is now Caistor or Caster, about three miles from Norwich. The name Venta, belonged to the chief city in each nation, and is derived probably from Wend or Went, a chief or head, which it signifies.*

Camulodunum, in Essex, now the modern Colchester, was the capital city of the Trinovantes or Trinobantes, who lived in Essex and Middlesex, and was the seat and residence of Cunobelin, a British prince of great power, who it is likely held the nominal sovereignty over all the other nations, which one of these princes always seems to have possessed as a title of honour, but not as conferring any real power.†

This part of England, with some portion of Kent and London, was first conquered by the Romans,

THE ROMANS.

and a colony, according to their wise principles, was planted at Colchester* or Camulodunum; which very soon became [A.D. 52] a place of considerable importance, and the largest city on this side of the kingdom. Essex then and Middlesex were completely subdued by the Romans. The first expedition under Cæsar [before C. 54] had succeeded in merely fighting several battles with the British, in discerning the strength and riches of the country, with the ferocious courage of the inhabitants, but had been compelled to retire and abandon its conquest. In A.D. 43, however, Claudius the emperor, sent a complete army of four legions, or 50,000 men, and established a footing in the counties of Essex and Middlesex. He completely subdued their inhabitants, formed alliances with the Iceni, our forefathers in Suffolk and Norfolk, and laid the solid foundations by two great colonies at London and Colchester for the future subjugation of the whole country. In A.D. 52, Caractacus, a great British prince in the West, was subdued and sent in chains to Rome. The Romans extended their arms into the Southern, Western, and Northern parts of the island. But were only in alliance with the inhabitants of Suffolk and Norfolk in the East. In A.D. 61, Prasutagus was king of these counties, and had amassed during his reign great wealth. By his will he divided his possessions between the Emperor and his two daugh-

* Appendix 2, *Henry's Great Britain*, vol. 1.
† Ib.

* Great differences of opinion exist amongst historians, whether Maldon or Colchester with some other places, should possess this honour. All probabilities lie in favour of Colchester. Its present name points at once to its original derivation. *Coloniae Castra*, the camp of the colony. *Col cast*—*Colcestra*—Colchester.

COLCHESTER.

ters, imagining that he had thus secured the tranquility of Boadicea his widowed queen and her children, in the possession of their dominions. The event defeated his anticipations. No sooner was the will known, than the Romans from Essex broke into his dominions, ravaged his counties, maltreated his widow, dishonoured his two daughters, and filled all places around us with devastation and bloodshed.*

In these calamitous circumstances, Boadicea acted with a spirit worthy of that noble race which had repulsed the first Cæsar from our shores. She summoned the whole nation of the Icenians inhabiting Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk to arms. The Trinobantes, or inhabitants of the midland counties, confederated with them. The British youth and warriors rushed together from all parts of the island, and whilst Suetonius the Roman general was destroying the Druidical worship in Anglesea, 230,000 men assembled in this part of the country, burning with rage, and determined by one great effort, thus to free their land for ever from the hated Roman invaders.

The ninth legion in Essex vainly attempted to resist this torrent. Our brave yet barbarian Britains with impetuous rage burned, wasted, and invaded all the fortifications and camps of their enemies. The city of the colony was taken by assault. The temple was besieged, in which the relics of the legion and all the Roman families who had escaped were sheltered. After two days it was taken by storm, and indiscriminate slaughter closed in savage silence the immediate fate of the flourishing city of Colchester. "London did not then possess the dignity of a colony," but it was a large municipal town.† It was abandoned by the Romans, as was also St. Albans, and wherever the victorious British army advanced, fire and sword, the halter, the gibbet, or mutilated corpses marked the path of their cruel and exterminating vengeance. Seventy thousand Romans thus perished. And those only in Essex and other places, who fled in the first hour of alarm, escaped with life, losing all their possessions.

COLCHESTER.

Suetonius, however, with the skill of a great general, in these desperate circumstances so arranged his forces that this vast army was drawn into a narrow valley, where their numbers could not be employed to advantage. The queen and her daughters drove through the ranks in a war chariot, and harangued the troops. Shouts of defiance, yells of exultation, and shrill screams of vengeance from the British women who accompanied the army in hundreds of waggons in the rear, made the woods and hills resound with the omens of a dreadful engagement. Whilst on the side of the Romans the silence of a stern desperation, returned no answer to the clamorous violence of their assailants. "Though a woman, eried the queen, my resolution is fixed; the men if they please may survive with infamy and live in bondage. On this spot we must either conquer or die with glory."

The battle now began by the British advancing in crowded ranks upon their enemies. The Roman discipline, like a wall of iron, beat them back. In thousands they again rushed on, and when repulsed, the steady tramp of the legions with irresistible strength pursued, broke, dispersed, and routed them on all sides. The waggons drawn by oxen and filled with screaming women, encumbered their retreat. The retreat became a flight. The cattle were killed by the Roman soldiers to add to their confusion. All was now hideous disorder, and irrecoverable ruin. Unresisting slaughter quickened by revenge, wearied at length the legionary swords. But 80,000 Britains of both sexes and all ages lay dead upon the field of battle. The unhappy Boadicea swallowed poison, and thus ended her life by her own hand. The fugitives escaped into their own counties, and from this period the Roman sovereignty over the nation may be said to have begun.*

* As my female readers may like to know the dress of the unhappy Boadicea on this occasion, I take her description from Dio. She wore a tunick (or loose garment with sleeves) of various colours, long and plaited, over which she had a large and thick mantle. This was her common dress which she wore at all times, but on this occasion she also held a spear in her hand. Her daughters sat at her feet. Their long hair hung in ringlets over their shoulders.

• Tacitus, *Annal.* b. 14, c. 31.

† Tacitus, *ib.* c. 33.



A
SECTION
of the
ITINERARY OF ANTONINVS

A.D. 140.

Iter. III. IV.



Iter. V.



Iter. X and V.



Iter. IX.



Stow Hundred.



Roman Camps.



A.Caistor.

B.Blaughley.

C.Lindsey & Kersey.

D.Colchester.

BRITISH DEFEAT.

Colchester, or the capital of the colony, very soon recovered its former prosperity. But London now began to attract wealth and importance to its walls. In the mean time, the Romans determined to subjugate our Icenian fathers completely to their dominion, and prevent the inhabitants in those counties from disturbing them again. The country was ravaged; the arms were seized and destroyed; the women were abused; numbers of the men slaughtered, and a Roman road with its attendant camps was formed, and ran from London to Colchester, and thence in a direct line through our Hundred to Cas-

BRITISH DEFEAT.

ter, the Venta or capital of the Eastern Britains in Norfolk. These roads were afterwards extended into different parts of the country; and about A.D. 140, a map or itinerary was formed, under one of the Antonine emperors, as a road guide to the Romans. The accompanying outline is a section of this curious itinerary, and will explain the line of Roman roads in these counties, of which in our hundred and neighbouring parish of Haughley some interesting relics still remain, to remind us of the grandeur of the Roman Empire, and the fortunes of the county under its rule.

CHAPTER II.

SITOMAGUS, OR HAUGHLEY—THE ROMAN CAMP.

ROMAN ROAD.

In copying this section of the Itinerary, I have placed the names as they have been adopted by Dr. Henry, Dr. Gall, and Horsley, except those of Woolpit and Thetford. *Sitomagus*, it will at a single glance be perceived, is to be found somewhere in or near the Hundred of Stow, as it is nearly in the centre of the county. Hitherto this has been described as Woolpit; but no remains of Roman entrenchments are to be found there. The Woolpit heath a few years since ran into Haughley, and almost touched the fine ruin that still remains in the latter parish. And hence it arises, that in some ancient antiquarian histories, the Roman camp has been described as existing at Woolpit, instead of Haughley. The remains of the Roman road can still be seen in different places in Finborough, on going to Bildeston from Stowmarket, and also in Haughley, on turning from the Bury road, where it still bears the name of the Haughley street.*

ROMAN CAMP.

Beyond Bildeston, another camp ought to exist. Cambretonio, marked in the map, must be in that neighbourhood, which some antiquaries call Stratford. But from the map, the distance on each side can be fixed to within a few miles, and therefore either Sudbury, Bures, or Stoke-by-Nayland may yield evidence as the place for this station.

Sitomagus was a *castra stativa*, or standing camp. Camden placed it at Thetford, but he could never have seen this map or road guide of the Roman emperor, when he gave this opinion, and had evidently confused it with the Iter, or Road 5, which ran either to Icklingham or Thetford, and terminated there. At Icklingham many Roman antiquities have been discovered. The name *Magus* signifies a town or fortified place. What is Sito? If we make it Latin, and the word *Sito-Magus* a corrupted British form of expressing this compound, *Situs-Magus*, as Sito or Situ Magus, we shall then have the choice of a new town designated.

The annexed plan will give the reader some idea of this singular ruin, and which well deserves a visit. It now escapes all notice from the quantity of wood with which it is enveloped; and it was with difficulty

* The Roman ways were afterwards called *streets*, and many of them may be found by noticing this ancient appellation. They did not always run in straight lines, but were altered under the Antonine emperors, and adapted to the features of the country. *Camden*.

ROMAN CAMP.

that this plan was measured and layed down to a scale. The rampart is closely covered with a thick coppice of nut trees, through which an arched narrow alley is cut, but the leafy screen on either side obstructs all the view. The mound, which is probably a Saxon work, is also covered with coppice and trees to its very summit. Unfortunately they grow high enough to prevent a fine view of the surrounding country. As from this elevation, or from the top of some of the fir trees, the towers of Ely cathedral, or about thirty miles in a direct line, may be discerned in a clear day. From all the neighbouring places, the clump of trees now spreading their evergreen shades over this ancient camp may be seen. It must have commanded in old times the whole of the country, and a more central situation and better adapted for a stationary Roman camp could not be selected. Within the enclosure of the circular rampart, stands the house of the *Castle Farm*, and the farmer's garden now lies in peaceful serenity within those lines, which have witnessed such strange revolutions amongst contending nations, and have resounded to the fearful shouts of war and conquest.

The extent of the works originally included about seven acres. And thus accommodation was obtained for 3000 legionary soldiers, or one fourth of the Roman legion stationed always at Colchester. The other fourth was most likely placed at Caister, in Norfolk, to overawe that county, as this garrison at Haughley formed a central place of assemblage for their forces in Suffolk. Twelve thousand men (the general complement of a legion) were in this manner employed to subjugate and guard Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, communicating with each other by the Roman road, which, according to the map, connected all these places together.

Roman coins are found in many places in the Hundred. I have seen one, discovered only last year, of silver in Stowupland, of Clodius, governor of Britain, A.D. 190. And others of different dates have been turned up, principally by labourers when digging, in scattered and single pieces. The camp has been called Danish, but these pirates did not erect any fortifications in these parts, for their stay here

HAUGHLEY CASTLE.

was too uncertain and perilous. Unquestionably the Britains obtained possession of its formidable defences upon the retreat of the Romans. But when the Saxon conquest occurred, [*see after chapters*] it then became one of their strong holds, and as such, was increased and much changed. It is to their hands we must attribute the elevation of the hill to its present height. They were skilful in casting up such mounds, and raised amongst others that enormous ridge, called devil's dyke, which defended their East Anglian kingdom from the other nations of the Heptarchy, and of this the remains are visible in Cambridgeshire at the present day. The Romans at first made all their camps an exact square; but in the days of the Empire and in distant nations, they did not confine themselves to this figure, as is well known. They were then sometimes oval, and of other forms.

The loss of the name Sito-Magus, is a similar result to that which has attended nearly all other places occupied by the Romans. Scarcely one in thirty now retains a name at all similar to that which they imposed, or found in these camps. Colchester, the camp of the colony, is perhaps one of the best and most obvious. But Sitomagus, like a hundred others, has vanished with the glittering Roman eagle that guarded, as it was vainly thought, in mysterious invincibility its ramparts. Even when Hollinshed wrote his *Chronicles*,* [A.D. 1580] he states, that nearly all those camps and towns, where formerly the Roman legions had been garrisoned, were changed in name, and had dwindled into insignificant villages. As then the tourist or visitor ascends the ancient village of Haughley, and feels the charm of its picturesque quiet, whilst he gently winds round its church to enter within the castle, he need not wonder at, though he may soothingly moralize upon the changes which

* "At the first they were large and ample (towns,) now are they come either unto a verie few houses, or appear not to be much greater in comparision than poore simple villages. Antoninus, the most diligent writer of the thoroughfares of Britain, noteth among other these ancient townes following, as *SITOMAGUS*, which he placeth in the waine from Norwich, as Bland supposeth, wherein they went by Colchester to London." *Holinshed Chron.*



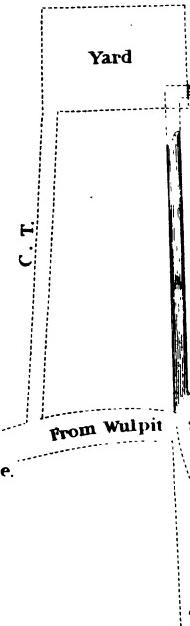
The Remains of
SITO MAGVS.
the Roman Camp at
HAUGHLEY.
on the Estate of
CHAS^T TYRELL, ESQ^R

A. Fossa or Ditch shaded where water now stands.

V. Earth Rampart or Vallum.

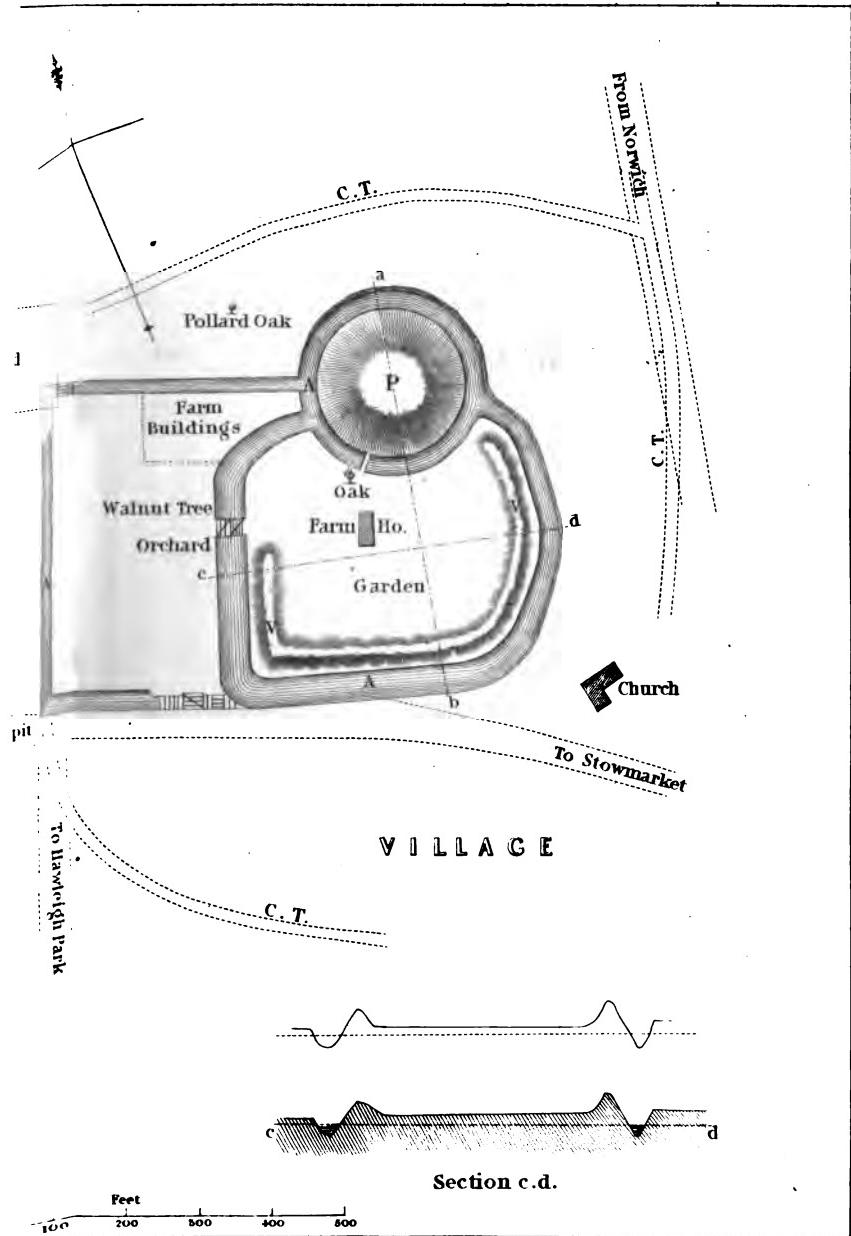
P. Prætorium.

C.T. Procestria a ditch and rampart now partially visible.



Section a.b.

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THE DRUIDS.

have occurred since the Roman General Suetonius fixed on this place for his stationary central camp, and the courageous Saxons drove from thence the Britains, and have now left its ramparts to be tenanted by the rooks and nightingale.

Ralph de Broc in the 12th century, built on this hill a tall round tower, the ditches were then enlarged. He was besieged here by the Earl of Leicester with ten thousand men, in the reign of Henry the Second. The castle was stormed and totally destroyed, and has not been occupied since that period as a military station. On clearing out the mote at different times, many of the stones have been found and carried away, on which were inscriptions and sculpture. Some of them remain in the court yard of Mr. Tyrell's seat at Haughley, and the accompanying etching describes their various forms.

The policy of the Romans in these countries was to destroy, and not to tolerate the worship of the Druids. They pursued them into their most sacred groves of oaks and experienced not only a triumphant pleasure, but found the satisfaction of a wise policy in planting their camps and legions, their temples and colonies in the very places consecrated by the Druids to their worship. When the great revolt under Boadicea occurred, Suetonius was in Anglesea destroying the most sacred of all the Druidical

THE DRUIDS.

groves. And when on his victory he entered into this county, his policy dictated to him the selection of a place made venerable by their worship. This district abounded in magnificent trees. At Haughley, oaks and hard wood trees cast their shadows for centuries upon the bright green grass. And all the gentle rising grounds and sweeping undulations have been covered in ancient times with timber trees of stupendous growth and size. It is not unlikely that under these so much venerated shades the Druids of Suffolk held their great annual assemblages, and that this Hundred, and Haughley especially, were places in which their mystic rites directed the British worshipper to the contemplation of the unity of the Godhead. This doctrine the Romans persecuted in them as they did in the Christians, although they tolerated and protected every other form of worship. This solemn truth of the plurality of persons in the unity, they hated. And from this their known policy we are disposed to think that they were thus led to fix on Haughley or this Magus, and *great place* of the Druids for their stationary camp. This Hundred afterwards became also the *Stowe* of the Saxons, or *their place* at Stowmarket for general assemblage. Nor is there any other parish in the neighbourhood but Haughley, which as yet bears any evidences of their large garrison—*Sitomagus*.

CHAPTER III.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO ENGLAND THROUGH MIDDLESEX,
ESSEX, AND SUFFOLK.

APOSTLES IN ENGLAND.

GILDAS, our most ancient historian, asserts that a Christian Church was planted in England in the reign of Nero, and immediately before the great revolt of the Suffolk and Norfolk men under Boadicea, described in the first chapter. Eusebius, the father of Church History, confirms this statement, when in

APOSTLES IN ENGLAND.

arguing for the divine origin of our religion, he asserts that some of the Apostles even passed into the islands called British. And that as the whole Roman world and all its various nations, had the gospel delivered to them by the Apostles, who were only simple unlearned men, their power thus to

APOSTLES IN ENGLAND.

preach in all these different languages, and therefore their extraordinary learning in founding so many Churches could only be divine, a miracle, and have proceeded from God.* For no one had any authority to found a new religion, or change that form which the Apostles established, unless he had a commission and worked miracles. Theodoret expressly says that St. Paul brought salvation to the islands that lie in the ocean. And after his first imprisonment at Rome (Acts xxviii,) having gone into Spain, from thence he carried the gospel to France and Britain. St. Paul refers to this intention in Rom. xv. 24, 28.† St. Jerome in general terms as to Britain, in some parts of his Scriptare Commentary repeats the assertion, (*but utrum in Hispania fuerit, incertum habetur—in Ep. ad Rom. c. 15.*) Clement, mentioned in Philip. iv, 3, in his letter to the Corinthian Church, written from Rome, of which city he was Bishop, declares that St. Paul went to the limits of the far west preaching the gospel, by which expression the Romans in those days always meant Britain. St. Paul suffered imprisonment twice.‡ The first is mentioned in Acts xxviii. He was then released after two years, and eight years elapsed before his martyrdom at Rome under Nero. These years were not spent in the East, but all the early Church historians agree in giving him France and Britain, and some Spain, as his fields of missionary labour. In Acts xx, 25, he took a solemn leave of the Eastern Churches, before he went to Jerusalem, and from thence was sent prisoner to Rome.

Claudius, who conquered Essex and Middlesex, had Plautius for his lieutenant, and his wife Pomponia Graecina, was a Christian. This lady it is likely acquainted St. Paul then at Rome [circa] [A.D. 60.] with the state of Britain, and through this information he was led in God's providence to land on our shores, under the protection of the Roman arms, and their new victories over the Britains. This lady is doubt-

ST. PAUL.

less among those mentioned collectively by St. Paul in Phil. iv, 22. Claudia, mentioned by him in 2 Tim. iv, 21, was a British lady of great wit and greater beauty, celebrated by the poet Martial for these fascinating yet dangerous attractions, but known to the Apostle for qualities of a far more endearing nature, her Christian piety; and she had Pudens, a Roman senator, as her husband. If this second epistle to Timothy, bishop of Ephesus, was written during the second imprisonment of St. Paul, as its internal evidence seems to determine, then Claudia may have been converted to Christianity during the Apostle's visit to England, and have been some of his spiritual first-fruits of the Gospel in these counties. The new colonies planted in Suffolk and Essex afforded him great facilities for the exercise of his Apostleship, in making converts, founding churches, and placing them, as all the Apostles did, solely under the authority of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Nor is it at all improbable that Claudia, the British beauty, may have been an Icenian or East Anglian lady, as her brilliant complexion, for which so many in these counties are celebrated, had caused a vivid sensation of curiosity and envy even amongst the haughty dames of the imperial city of Rome.

The conclusion from all these scraps of evidence is, I think, a demonstrative probability, for St. Paul having first planted Christianity in England, in the Roman colonies of these Eastern counties. The story of king Lucius, a British prince of some power, who was a Christian, soon after this period, I need not repeat. These counties were colonies, and exclusively under Roman government, and therefore the Western counties, about Winchester, may have the honor of this king's Christian government with much reason assigned to them.

Christianity flourished for 300 years in England from the date of these events. The decrees of the council of Arles, held A.D. 314, were subscribed by three English Bishops, who had attended as the representatives of the British established church. These were—Eborius of York—Restitutus of London—and Adelfius de civitate Colonia Londinensis, or Essex, including this county at the time

* Demonst. Evan. b. 3, c. 7.

† Stillingfleet Antiq.

‡ St. Paul was released A. D. 58, and was beheaded A. D. 67.

7

DRUIDS.

in his diocese. The religion which St. Paul had to contend with, was the Roman superstition of numerous Gods, and the relics of that Druidiam which their armies had almost extinguished. The ancient Druids had no images in their sacred groves. They worshipped, it appears, one God, invisible, supreme, and omnipresent. They found it difficult however to confine the minds of the rude multitude to such a clearly intellectual and spiritual idea of God; and therefore they adopted a visible sign or emblem, to which the eyes of the worshipper might be directed. All idolatry begins in this principle. Temples they did not build, but worshipped amid the darkest woods, or on the wide plain, where uncarved blocks of stone set upright, were the only symbols of the Deity. Their most venerated symbol however was the oak. The ark of the deluge might have

OAK TREES.

been built of this wood, and hence arose the extraordinary veneration paid universally to this tree. By it, and the mystic rites in cutting the maletoe from its trunk, the memory of the deluge, the preservation of man, and his future regeneration, could be signified and preserved. An oak truncated, deprived of all its limbs and head, or pollarded, was the other only emblem of the Deity allowed in their sacred woods. It is singular that this custom of pollarding trees, and thus preserving in so many of our hedges the old Druidical emblem of worship, should prevail as it does in these districts. This is one of the most ancient customs ; lines of these pollards led to the Druidical groves, and from this habit in these places, thus kept up, a remembrance of Druidical superstitions is still awakened in our minds.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RETREAT OF THE ROMANS.—THE INVASION OF SUFFOLK BY THE SAXONS.— GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 300 TO A.D. 600.

ROMANS.

In this chapter I have followed almost exclusively the short history of Gildas,* the earliest of our British historians, in which he gives a most lamentable and in some cases a degrading account of the conquest of the ancient British by the Saxons. He belonged to the former nation, and was born about the year 512, or 520.

At the beginning of this period, (300) the inhabitants of the Hundred were Britains and Romana. The latter occupied their large camp at Haughley, and were changed, like our own army in barracks,

BRITAINS.

occasionally from Colchester, the principal station for their troops. They may also have inhabited some of the picturesque and beautiful situations which abound in the neighbourhood as villas, or country residences. Onhouse, Gipping, Haughley, and Finborough, have possessed very ancient mansions, and are situations enjoying all the marked features of that quiet beauty which adorns this district, and is so peculiarly English, as naturally to invite those who admire, to place in it their villas and halls. The British chieftains having laid aside the barbarous courage which had in vain resisted the Romans, had now become peaceful and indolent cultivators of the arts, as well as the vices of their conquerors. (*quod*

* The Latin Ed. published by the Historical Society.

PERSECUTION.

*non Britanni sint in bello fortes, nec in pace fideles.** These had so completely engrafted themselves upon the country, that all the money, gold, silver, and brass, bore their stamp, and the heads of the Cæsars.† It was altogether a Roman province. A great intercourse subsisted between the natives and their conquerors. Intermarriages were made, and a mixed race began to arise. The old inhabitants however were numerous, and many of them retained a keen sense of their former liberty and independence.

The persecution of the Christians under Diocletian, which lasted for ten years, [A.D. 303 to 313] reached even into Britain. The churches were overthrown, and if any then existed in our Hundred, as it is not unlikely one might have been placed in this central position, it was pulled down or ruined. Every copy of the Scriptures which could be found was burned upon the high roads, and on such Roman highways as that which ran from Haughley, through Stowmarket and Finsborough to Colchester. The clergy of the flock, (*electi sacerdotes gregis Domini*,) with the flock themselves were murdered, so that in some of the counties scarcely a vestige of Christianity was left behind, and the whole church on earth seemed on the point of taking flight, and leaving the scene of its griefs here to enter into the peaceful regions of heaven.‡

We had our martyrs, but they were of Roman name and blood. Alban was the first in Britain, after whose memory St. Alban's, in Herfordshire, is now called, and where a cathedral church was erected to his honour. Aaron and Julius were citizens (I think) of London, (*Legionum urbis cives*,) and suffered in this persecution. Their graves were religiously preserved, and visited in the days of Gildas.|| Many of the Christians were driven into woods and wild places to lead a solitary and distressed life, until about the year 313, the persecution ceased, by the fall of Diocletian amongst all nations.

In our own country the season of persecution was beneficial to the British Church. Her blood like sacred seed shed into the earth increased the num-

ANCIENT RELIGION.

ber of her members, and men attracted at first by an admiration of the courageous constancy of the martyrs, were induced to hear and receive the truth for themselves. The Church therefore became more numerous, and when Diocletian descended from the throne of the Roman empire, of which our country was still a province, the British Christians rebuilt the Churches that had been levelled with the ground.* They founded others in honour of the martyrs who had died, and thus established them as victorious memorials (*victoria signa*) of the faith in which they had laid down their lives in defence of the truth of the gospel. Holy days were again observed; the sacraments were celebrated with a pure heart and with prayer. And all the sons of the mother Church (*matris ecclesie*) exulted with joy in her bosom.

At this very early period our historian, in his very short yet precious book of history, gives us clear intimations of the form and nature of this early English Church, which had been planted in our county and other places by apostolic labours, and was as primitive and pure as the Churches of the Galatians, or Ephesians, or any of those national Churches addressed in the New Testament. Popery then was unknown, and Rome was only a Pagan power, and not a Christian Church. What then was established amongst us, and what ought we to follow as Scriptural and Apostolic? Gildas gives us these particulars—

The orders of the clergy were Bishops, and Presbyters or Priests, with Deacons.

A Liturgy existed, for he mentions and quotes the form of Ordination employed in ordaining men to the sacred ministry.

Churches were dedicated to saints and holy men. Holy days, the Sabbath, and holy seasons, were kept. (as Easter, &c.)

The Sabbath was observed, and the Sacraments administered.

The Scriptures were the infallible authority, to which all disputes were referred, and the Bible alone was the source of all doctrine.

* *Gildas Hist.* c. 6.

† c. 7.

‡ c. 9.

|| c. 10.

* *Gildas Hist.* c. 12.

ANCIENT CHURCH.

Monasteries existed, which were voluntary associations of religious persons living together, and devoting themselves to the service of God and his church without vows.

The Church as a national body was independent, and under no control by any other church or body abroad.

No dissentient systems existed, and if any such schismatical opinions had been propagated, they would have been considered as heretical. The Arian heresy however soon afterwards entered the island, and infected many Christians with its deadly poison. The intercourse between England and the Continent must have been constant, as we find our ancient historians speaking with the same familiarity of changes on the Continent as if they had themselves lived there. This intercourse was continued without interruption, until the Romans withdrew the legions from the island. And in the Council of Nice, which was held in 325, by the command of the Emperor Constantine, who was born at York, some English Bishops were present.

When the armies of the Romans withdrew from England, they left the country in the hands of those whom they had been most careful to deprive of the means of resistance, or the knowledge of war.* The camp at Haughley, which had resounded with the measured tread of the stately Romans for 300 years, was then given up to the Britons. They had been agricultural labourers, farmers, or proprietors, but had never been soldiers. Their obstinate spirit of resistance to the Romans and their courage had slept for three centuries. They were almost altogether ignorant of arms, (*omnis belli usi ignara pereitut, c. 14,*) nothing then could be expected but misery and slaughter, when at first attacked by a nation of rob-

* The British auxiliaries in the Roman legions were celebrated for their courage. They consisted of 15,600 men, who were distributed and fought in Spain, Asia, and Germany. But these troops never returned home. Gildas says, *ingenti juventute spoliata, quæ comitata vestigis supradicti tyranni domum nunquam ultra rediit.* The nation thus robbed of its best blood was in a weakened and defenceless condition, without an army, deprived of arms, headless, and having no government on which it could depend.

PICTS AND SCOTS.

bars, who lived by the sword and plunder. [A.D. 350, circa] These were the Picts and Scots, who came from the North. (*duabus primum gentibus transmarinis vehementer saevis, Scotorum a circione, Pictorum ab aquilone.*) They ravaged the coasts, they penetrated into the Northern counties, they assaulted and carried the Roman camps which were unskillfully defended by the natives. The plunder was more their object than the possession of the country. The Britons had been carrying on a successful commerce for 300 years in peace beneath the Roman arms; and the island was rich in gold and silver, and all the luxuries of life. Indiscriminate slaughter was made of the men, whilst the women and children were carried away and sold as slaves to the Picts in Ireland, and to the wandering Saxon tribes, who had begun to show themselves along the shores of the Continent opposite to England. The Romans indeed sent to their assistance some forces, and assisted in building a vast wall across the Northern limits of the island in Scotland, well fortified with towers, whose ruins remain to remind us of this vain attempt to keep out these Northern invaders.* But at length all aid was withdrawn. The island was abandoned to its enemies; and the natives were left to form in these new circumstances their own government and armies.

The churches were at this period [A.D. 350 to 450] numerous, and Christianity appears to have been professed by thousands of the people. But the Picts ravaged and burned them wherever they came. In describing the miseries which the Britons suffered under this Pictish invasion, Gildas always speaks of them as citizens or inhabitants of towns, who were compelled to abandon their homes and fly into the forests and mountains. Such accounts must be principally limited to the circumstances of the Northern and Western inhabitants of England. In these Eastern counties, there is no evidence to show that our British fathers ever suffered any invasion from the Picts who came from Scotland and Ireland, and the situation of this part of the kingdom, placed great difficulties, from its distance, in the way of

* *Gildas Hist. c. 17—18.*

CIVIL DISSENSIONS.

any such attempta. On the contrary, however, we were peculiarly exposed to the incursions of the Danes and Saxons. These nations fell with great fury on the Eastern counties; so that whilst in the fifth century our people were living in peace and security, their countrymen on the Western side were a prey to the murderous assaults of the naked and hairy Picts. (*furciferisque magis vultus pilis, quam corporum pudenda, pudendisque proxima, vestibus tegentes*, c. 19.) The Eastern inhabitants in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries became the groaning sufferers under the Saxons and Danes, but during this latter period the remnant of the Britons in Wales lived in comparative safety.

The Romans had various camps and stations along the coast of these counties. One of these was near Yarmouth, and another at Felixstow. The officer in command was called the Count of the Saxon Shore, for this brave but piratical people the Saxons, had shewn themselves in such force, and by many plundering assaults had rendered the coast so insecure, that a special officer, with high military rank was appointed before the Romans retired, to defend these counties.

The towns were numerous, and in them the people had become slothful and unwarlike. Internal dissensions also were added to the calamities of invasion. No native government had existed, except in petty principalities, under the Romans; and sufficient time had not passed for any settled form or extensive authority to be exercised by those who were princes amongst them. A great number of small chieftains exercised a precarious and limited authority in different counties and places. Our Eastern division was thus governed. And such internal divisions necessarily produce universal weakness, and a total inability to resist a foreign foe. Agriculture was neglected, famine ensued, the necessities of life were procured even by the wealthiest with difficulty, and the chief prince or king suffered under the want of a regular establishment. Hunting, however, in the large forests afforded him and the inhabitants some means of support and pleasure. (*vacuaretur omnis regio totius cibi baculo, excepto venatoria artis sola-*

ROMAN AID.

tio, c. 19.) The cultivated fields and many of the villas of the Romans disappeared under forest and brush-wood, and their camps, as at Haughley, were buried in the silence of deep woods which it was the policy of the natives to encourage. Thus the whole nation began rapidly to subside into the original elements of that barbarous life, from which they had been delivered by the invasion of the Romans.

In this extremity they applied to Oetius, a man of consular dignity amongst the Romans on the Continent, for assistance, but in vain.* The barbarian ravagers of the North still pursued them. Famine oppressed the whole land. Many persons lived a savage life in caves, mountains, marshes, and forests, by robbing their heathen robbers and their own people. But after some years a more settled order of things seems to have prevailed. The wildest troops of their enemies for a time retired. Yet intestine tumults and innumerable little civil wars, with a general relaxation of morality and religion, afflicted and harassed the provinces.

Peace once more yielded to man its universal blessings. The natural fertility of our island was then as it is now most abundant. Luxury, indolence, and an extensive indifference to religion produced their natural consequences in disorder and immorality.† Fornication and mendacity, (*amor mendacii*), and general sensuality in its worst vices, are charged upon the people. The kings were anointed (*ungebantur*) by man and not by God. The clergy, who might have been the means of a general reformation, were themselves culpable and slothful. And thus the ancient British Churches were for a time the sleepy attendants, or quarrelsome disputants, instead of being the zealous reprovers of a sinful people. (*torpebant resoluti, et animositatum tumore, jurgiorum contentione*, c. 21.) The nation and church had been sorely scourged by the Pictish invasion; but they were still obstinate in their sins, and

* "Gemitus Britannorum." [Anno 400.] The pitiful meanness of some one petty prince. But no act of the nation, for there was no central government. c. 20.

† *Gildas Hist.* c. 21.

NATIONAL CORRUPTION.

a yet more fearful judgment impended over them. They had lost that virtuous courage, and true nobility of character, which resisted for many years the sword and power of the Romans. From being their deadly enemies, they degraded themselves to become the imitators of the vices of that luxurious people. The church slumbered over her vocation. The single voices of Gildas and some others amongst the clergy, produced no general amendment, awakened no national reformation. God in his wisdom had marked the time in which another yet more noble race from the deep forests of Germany should appear. This new nation, called the Saxon, was destined to unite with the conquered Britons, and produce a people, the greatness of whose character should fill the world with their empire, their religion, and their institutions.

The British king and his princes held long and agitated consultations, upon the best means of repelling the frequent and deadly incursions of their Northern enemies.* All at length agreed with the principal monarch Gurthrigern to invite the Saxons to their assistance, as this people were then in ships under different leaders, hovering about the coasts of Holland, Denmark, and these islands, to obtain a settlement. A fatal measure for themselves, and the certain destruction of their cherished independence. These men are described in terms of the strongest abhorrence by our old native historian. For he could only see and feel the immediate deplorable results of such weak and infatuated counsels. Yet in his description, we can recognize that strength of character in our Saxon population, which when civilized by Christianity, and in its union with the more volatile character of the Celtic Britons, has made us what we now are. The courage of the Saxons, he says, was most ferocious. Their name was a terror to mankind. Like wolves entering a sheep-fold, they rushed into the deserted island; and cast their anchors like the talons of ravenous beasts into a shore which they were to fight for as their own. (*terribiles infixit ungues, ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis SAXONES.*)

* *Gildas Hist. c. 22.*

SAXONS INVITED.

The idolatrous auguries which preceded and accompanied their fleet were perfectly favourable. A prosperous wind filled the sails of their long vessels, (*longis navibus, secundis velis, secundo omne augurisque,*) and following the directions of the unfortunate king, they landed first in the Eastern parts of the island.* (*Evectus primum in orientali parte insulae, c. 23.*) This first band was soon followed by others from the same country, and each tribe on its arrival, with ferocious joy leaped upon that shore which they had predetermined never again to leave. They lived at free quarters upon the inhabitants, and at length declared that unless their monthly pay (*epimenia*) was increased, they would ravage the whole island with fire and sword. Nor was it long before they put these savage threats into execution.

The work of death began in these counties,† and here first the Saxon lighted those fires, in which he soon involved all the churches and towns of the kingdom from one sea to the other. (*de mari usque ad mare ignis orientalis.*) Their destruction of the country, by burning every thing before them, is described in terms of exaggerated horror. Yet as their chiefs had determined to take possession of the island, and make it and the remnant of the miserable inhabitants their own, no more effectual way could be devised for the utter extirpation of all hope, than in thus sweeping away in red flames every building that could remind the Britons of their former condition. Churches, houses, towns, castles, every erection of combustible materials was burnt wherever they came. Their fury against Christianity was insatiable. Their own religion was a paganism

* The difference of statement in making Kent and these Eastern counties the place of landing, is easily reconciled, by admitting that two or three tribes landed about the same time in both places. These counties were *most convenient* for such an event, and Harwich is more likely to be the port where the Saxon first touched the shore of his future renown, than any other place on the coast. See *Turner's Anglo-Saxons*, b. 3, c. 1.

† Hengist is the name of the first leader of the Saxons in most accounts, who landed at the isle of Thanet in Kent, A.D. 450. But it is most likely at the same time there was a settlement made on these coasts. I have retained the account which Gildas gives, being the most ancient historian and likely to know better than any one else.

EASTERN INVASION.

consisting of several Gods, who were described as awful beings wielding the thunder, and delighting in blood and battle. Nothing remained as a vestige of former Christian days in England, but the central sites of churches, in blackened ruins, such as that which it is likely existed in Stow; and Roman camps as at Haughley, which last being lofty entrenchments of earth and stone, were to some extent indestructible, and became fortresses for themselves. The horrors of those years whilst the Saxon guests thus ravaged these counties as the fiercest foes, are feelingly described by Gildas, in terms, which show that he had been himself an eye-witness of these miserable calamities.* They burned the clergy on the altars of the churches. The roads were covered with ruins, and the scattered remains of bloody corpses. Birds of prey and wild beasts were to be seen busily employed in devouring those relics of mortality. And wherever man had lived, there only the tottering and blackened ruins of houses, churches, and towers, marked the sites of former joyous habitations.

Some historians have represented our forefathers, the Saxons, as depopulating the whole kingdom except Wales, where the remnant of the British nation sheltered and successfully defended themselves. This would make the inhabitants of all the Eastern and Midland parts of England, a perfectly distinct race, in their families, from those of Wales. But it is not a just representation of our origin, nor is the assertion supported by human experience in the desolating invasions of one nation upon another. Gildas distinctly mentions *four* different causes, which diminished, preserved, and united some portion of the British nation inseparably to their conquerors, †

1. Some miserable relics (*nonnulli miserarum reliquarum*) of the conquered nation, having fled into the mountains and hilly fortresses, were pursued thither, and slaughtered indiscriminately. (*acervatim jugulabantur.*) 2.—Others, and by far the larger proportion in these counties, where they had no mountains to shelter them, and the sea was too broad to permit their emigration, oppressed with hunger, and losing all

CALAMITIES.

hope of life, unless they submitted to their new masters, left their hiding places, and became slaves to their cruel enemies. (*manus hostibus dabant in avum servituri.*) Many of these miserable men were instantly killed, and this was considered rather a mercy than a misfortune. The survivors formed in their offspring the great mass of that numerous body of slaves, which existed for several centuries after this period throughout England. 3.—An extensive emigration was carried on from the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall, to Normandy in France. They followed the easy course pointed out by the intermediate islands of Guernsey and Jersey in the Channel. These small places formed convenient resting places for the fugitives in their light vessels. Many active and superior minds amongst them thus naturalized themselves in a new soil, and their descendants in the country round Dol, St. Malo, Dinant, and other towns, retain to this day distinctive marks in their character and features of their British origin. Some few families settled in those Channel islands, which are still connected with our crown. The names of the Western bays, by whose shores the emigrants moved, preserve their Welsh or British names. St. Brelade and St. Owen in Jersey connect them with these remote and disastrous times. And some families of the name of Arthur, and a few others, reveal the ancient relationship which existed between their ancestors and the devastated shores of England, their mother country.

This compulsory desertion of their father-land was attended with wild lamentations, which resounded in melancholy cries over the waste of waters, as they sat beneath the shadow of their spreading sails. (*sub velorum sinibus cantantes—cum ululatu magno, c. 25.*) Not a few however remained in the country, and neither submitted to the conquerors, nor perished in the slaughter of their friends. 4.—They secreted themselves in mountains, amid precipices, in wild marshes, or on the sea shores amongst stags and lofty rocks. As the first ferocity of the Saxon became satiated, and his vigilance relaxed, these aingle fugitives began to assemble together, and obtained under a man of Roman origin, Ambrosius Aurelian, some victories

* *Gildas Hist. c. 24.*

† c. 25.

DESTRUCTION OF BRITONS.

over their dreaded foes. The mountains of Wales defended and gave them still a country. Here they remained at rest, and fought bravely under the celebrated king Arthur, against the inroads of their enemies. The scattered relics of the church from all parts of England met together in this province, and formed an united and pure body, preserving their doctrines and orders in unadulterated succession from the Apostles themselves. And when in a succeeding age,* Augustin the monk, undertook a mission at the solicitation of Gregory the Great, to convert the heathen Saxons to Christianity, seven Bishops in Wales, presided over flourishing churches in separate dioceses, who were the direct descendants of the ancient Apostolic Bishops of the Church of England in the time of the Romans.

Thus have I endeavoured in a few paragraphs to place before the reader this surprising revolution in the condition of the kingdom. The residents in the Hundred and County, were then composed of the lordly Saxons in their chiefs and followers, who became the sole proprietors of the whole of its lands. Beneath them, in a situation little better than their cattle, were the British slaves, whom they had spared from slaughter. Their women were sometimes taken by the Saxons, and thus a mixed race of British and Saxon blood began to appear. This is the universal result in all such conquests and invasions. Nature thus vindicates her laws, and slowly but surely obliges even hostile nations to become but one family of mankind. In these counties British resistance to

* Anno 597 or 607. *Bede.*

SAXON CONQUEST.

the Saxon was extinguished, and our parishes were divided amongst Saxon proprietors, who compelled the remains of the old inhabitants to till the very lands, on which their fathers had formerly lived under the Roman government and their own chiefs. Christianity was remembered only as a name. Pagan rites were introduced, and Thor or Tor, the God of Thunder, was worshipped in the Hundred where Christ had formerly been known.* The East Angles, as those Saxons were called, who filled these counties, were amongst the bravest and most noble of the Germanic nations. But all were fierce idolaters, sacrificing horses and oxen to their Gods with impious rites, and then feasting with riotous intemperance upon their remains. The Church of England had fled into Wales, and we must open another chapter to ascertain how she was restored, and how our forefathers became converts to Him who goes forth "conquering and to conquer."†

* See chapter on Stowmarket.

† The origin of the Saxons, in their name and race, has been much canvassed. The most probable opinion is, that they came from the *Sacaezena*, who lived near Persia. They had stories and traditions amongst them of their Eastern origin, but this is the case with all the nations which have come into Europe, and corresponds with the account of the dispersion of mankind in the Bible. (Gen. xi.) My own opinion, and I offer it with diffidence, is, that the Celtic races which first possessed Europe and the British isles, were the descendants of Shem. These were gradually supplanted by other nations, the descendants of Japhet, who lived in their habitations, as predicted in Gen. ix. We are still fulfilling our destinies by our conquests in the East, as we have done by establishing ourselves in the West. France has not done this, because her inhabitants partake more exclusively of the Celtic and therefore of the Shemite origin than the English, the Germans, or Spaniards.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 627 TO A.D. 700.—THE CONVERSION OF SUFFOLK TO CHRISTIANITY,* AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

EAST ANGLIA.

THE Saxons had been settled in Britain for 180 years, and were partially converted to Christianity by the labours of Augustin, sent as a missionary amongst them by Gregory the Great. But the kingdom of East Anglia was still clouded with heathen darkness. At one time London received the faith, and a church dedicated to St. Paul was built there. But on the death of Sibercht, king of the East Saxons, his three sons being Pagans, refused to obey the commands of the gospel, and drove out Mellitus, Bishop of London. And thus all those bright spots in which Christian churches had been built in Suffolk, became obscured or lost for many years.

In the year 627, Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, and vast crowds of “the common sort of people,” received the faith, and were baptized in the rivers by Paulinus his Bishop, because in that infancy of the church, “stone fons and small churches had not been yet made.”[†] Edwin was a man of superior mind, and grave deliberative habits of thought. What he had done in changing his faith from Paganism to Christianity, was the result of conviction. And on his conversion he became therefore the zealous practical believer. Hence he immediately used his influence with Eorpwald, the son of Redwald, king of the East Angles, who kept his court sometimes in Suffolk, at Rendlesham[‡] and Dunwich,

PAGAN WORSHIP.

to receive Christian missionaries and instruction. Eorpwald had nominally adopted the Christian faith, but he endeavoured to unite with it the rites of Paganism. His religion was compounded of sacrifices to idols and Christian prayers. He erected a large altar to Christ, and had a smaller one whereon they offered in his kingdom sacrifices to Thor, who was worshipped in this Hundred,^{*} and to other monstrous deities of ancient Germany. But when Sigbercht, the brother of Eorpwald, and second son of this king, obtained the crown, the religion of the court became purely Christian, and all idolatrous rites were prohibited from being employed before the monarch.

Still much remained to be accomplished amongst his ignorant and heathenish subjects. The inhabitants of the Hundred were then, as in the rest of the county, addicted to and brought up in all the coarse practices and vices of heathenism. Their Gods were not numerous, but they were vast and hideous conceptions of the human mind, derived from its licentious depravity, and were fierce, tyranical, and fearful beings, whose worship affrighted and subdued, but could not elevate the mind and heart. Of these the chief was Thor, from whose worship and central station, our Hundred and town derived it is likely its name of Thorna-stow, or Thorné-market. But this subject will be mentioned in a future chapter.

The Saxon king had spent the early portion of his life in France. Here he had obtained higher attainments in literature and religion, than could at that

* This chapter is principally from the venerable Bede, who died in the year 735, and was a Saxon Presbyter, in Northumberland, and lived in some of the scenes he describes in his Church History of England.

[†] *Bede* b. 2, c. 14.

[‡] The meaning of Rendlesham is “the mansion of Rein-dil.” *Bede* b. 3, c. 22.

* See chapter 9.

FELIXSTOW.

period be derived from the barbarous and half-savage courts of the Saxon heptarchy. And on ascending the throne of East Anglia, which comprised Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridge,* he immediately sent to France for Christian ministers. Felix, a Burgundian, was ordained by Honorius an Archbishop in France, for this mission. He landed in Suffolk, and commenced his Apostolic labours on the shores of a parish near Ipswich, which still commemorates his pious zeal in its name. *Feliz-Stow†* was the first fruits of his holy mission to God. Here are still the remains in the ruins of the church at Walton, of his devotion to the cross. The church of *Felixstow*, but more especially the old foundations of that at *Walton*, are both evidences of the manner in which these holy men erected such fabrics to the glory of their Saviour. Materials obtained on the spot, whether in timber or stone, were freely used. But wood was the prevailing, because the least expensive and most easily obtained material, in a country which was then covered in two thirds of its extent by forests. Stone was costly in its erection and workmanship, and was rarely employed in these early times, except in large and monastic edifices. Most of the churches were then but humble buildings, but their lowly roofs became vocal with the praises of the Creator and Redeemer. The splendour of such a work was then not visible to the eye, and could only be perceived by the spiritual vision of the worshipper.

The churches of Felix are however large for that period, and were places of some importance. They were connected with schools for the instruction of

* *Bede b. 3, c. 22.* The East Saxons lived in Essex and Middlesex; the term Angles or English was derived from the inhabitants of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the Midland counties, or shires, and from them it was at last employed to describe the inhabitants of the whole kingdom. All these different tribes were members however of one nation, the Saxons.

† The name *Felix Stow* is in Saxon, the mother tongue of our English—*the place, residence, or property of Felix*. For the term *Stow*, to which the name of any person was prefixed, was thus significant of his residence—*FELIX-STOW or STOWE*. It is therefore worth preserving with religious care, as commemorative of such a noble undertaking and mission.

FIRST EAST ANGLIAN BISHOP.

youth. He purposed to make them useful in bringing up men for the church. They were founded about the same time as those which were designed by the king himself at Cambridge, and elsewhere.* These were built of the materials which remain in our own time. Facilities existed on that shore in obtaining rough masses of cement stone† without quarrying, at low water, which rendered the erection of these sacred buildings as easy, if not easier, than the completion of churches in wood. The mortar is nothing more than the crag sand burnt, and found in abundance on the spot. Where it is exposed between the ancient stones, it is hard and compact, like the best lime. On these remains of such far distant days, the very hands of this primitive Bishop were employed. The missionary clergy were then, as now our own are, the bodily as well as the spiritual labourers in heathen fields. Their zeal strengthened their shoulder to bear the burden, and aroused a corresponding zeal in the new converts. The scattered inhabitants gazed at first with rude wonder, but as the new thoughts suggested by the gospel warmed the emotions of their hearts, their souls melted, the rough Saxon became a willing hearer, and at length an ardent fellow worker with the Bishop and Clergy, in building sacred places to God. And there the quiet sabbath, every seventh day of his life, might be devoted to imbibe those celestial thoughts which change the inner man, and give him that new life, in whose enjoyments he begins to experience the eternal pleasures of a world to come.

The town,‡ or the abiding place of Felix, (or Felix-stowe,) as the name signifies, was probably a

* *Stowe's Annals.*

† This stone is now fished up in great quantities and carried into Harwich on the opposite side of the river's mouth, where it is converted by grinding and baking into Roman cement. The clay of the cliffs I believe might be employed in a similar way.

‡ The disposition of the Roman forces in Britain is a subject full of difficulty. A large body of troops was kept in this county, whose head quarters were probably at Haughley. A body of horse (*Stablesian*) was quartered at some station on the coast, and no one has been able yet to fix the place. I give the preference to *Felixstow*. A Roman station undoubtedly existed there; and after storms,

CATHOLIC UNITY.

place to which the Bishop was fondly attached during the remainder of his life: And on visiting its then extended beach where he first landed, and broad sea heights, the purest happiness which can enter a human breast must have been his, when he reflected that by his labours, one of the fairest provinces of England was rapidly becoming in its inhabitants, a joyful recipient of Gospel hopes and Catholic unity with Christ the living fountain of all bliss. He was held in high repute by the Bishops in other parts of the kingdom: His opinions were quoted and revered. And it was esteemed an honour for other Bishops, who differed on non-essential subjects, to hold with him a friendly intercourse. Such a circumstance occurred to Aidan, a Bishop in Northumberland, who derived his orders and church customs from the old British or Scottish churches. He kept Easter according to St. John's custom, and it was tolerated^{*} by Felix, and Honorius Archibishop of Canterbury. For whilst it was contrary to Roman custom, yet they would not break the peace of the church upon a non-essential point with a fellow Bishop; whose orders and doctrines they knew to be Scriptural and Apostolic. The notion of no orders being necessary, or of the rejection of Bishops, would have been treated by all Christians as a heresy. Whilst the novelties of Papal supremacy and Romish doctrine as they exist now, would have been laughed at as a folly. A great struggle ensued at this period, between the old British Bishops and churches, and the Romish Bishops, respecting the authority which each ought to have, and by whose rule they ought to rest. This was but the same contest which has existed in principle, under one form or another down to our own days, and will go on until Rome submits to the more primitive authority of English doctrine and practice.

Roman coins are washed upon the beach. The tradition is that a town existed at some distance from the present coast, but it has disappeared in the sea. The auxiliary troops from Britain in the Roman armies were numerous. They amounted to 26 cohorts or 15,600 men, in different parts of the world, and were termed from their bravery, *Invicti*, the invincible—also *Excubatores*, the slingers—perhaps the archers, for which they were so celebrated afterwards. *Dr. Henry*, 1.

* See *Bede*, b. 3. c 25.

DEATH OF FELIX.

The city of Dommoc, or Dunwich, was the place where the Bishop generally resided. This was also the occasional residence of the king. For seventeen years Felix presided over the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, and extended the knowledge of Christianity by building churches and establishing ministers in different places. He ended his days in peace, and was buried at Dunwich.^{*}

This therefore is the period to which we look for the re-introduction of Christianity into the parishes in our Hundred, and the erection of the church at Stow from its ruins, if, as is likely, a Christian church existed in the vicinity of the Roman camp at Haughley, during the occupation of England by their arms. The date may be fixed to the year 637. This being ten years after the landing of Felix, and giving sufficient time for our Burgundian Bishop to have extended his labours into the central districts of the county. The diocese was large, and the fourth Bishop, named Bisus, divided it into two parts. One Bishop, (a Suffragan?) was placed at North Elmham, in Norfolk, another remained at Dunwich. In 955 it was again united by Erfastus, the 22nd Bishop, and removed to Thetford. Here was the episcopal seat when the Doomsday survey was made in 1086.† And by the next Bishop, or the 24th from Felix, it was removed to Norwich, where it has remained to the present time.‡

The lives and labours of these holy men were very different from that of a parochial minister, whose field of duty is within the boundaries of his own parish, and whose calls of employment to assist his brethren

* This ancient city about 200 years afterwards, possessed 52 parish churches, hospitals, and chapels; as many windmills, and large ships. In 1086 its state may be seen by referring to a future chapter, for it was then reduced to half its size by the encroachments of the sea. In the Reign of Henry the 8th or 1540 it had 6 parish churches, 2 priories, 2 hospitals, and 3 chapels. In the Reign of Elizabeth, 2 churches remained, and now it has but one, and that newly built at a distance from the sea. In early times a mint was established, and silver pence were struck, inscribed *Civitas Dunwich*, whereof 20 weighed an ounce—12 of these ounces a pound; and 20s. in money was thus a pound sterling and a pound weight of silver. *Stowe*.

† See *Telford Sufolc v. 2*.

‡ *Bede's Eccl. Hist. b. 2, c. 15.*

PRIMITIVE CLERGY.

elsewhere in the church are only occasional. The whole diocese was then their parish. The parochial system originated probably with Alfred in after-times, when Christianity was professed by the whole nation. But in this age the converts were few, and wherever a man or men could be found, there was the clergyman's congregation and place of worship. They therefore preached in woods, in the market places, by the road sides, or wide "streets," as they were termed, leading from one populous "tun" or town to another. And Bede describes them as "ranging" over the whole country, sometimes on horseback but more frequently on foot, and "wheresoever in their way they saw either rich or poor, immediately turning aside they addressed them, if heathens, by an exhortation to embrace the mystery of the faith, and if of the Faithful, they strengthened them in the faith and stirred them up to almsgiving and a holy life."^{*} All the money they received was distributed to the poor or expended in building churches. And being generally under monastic regulations, by which they voluntarily freed themselves from the necessary duties attaching to those clergy who married and had families, they were enabled consistently and with propriety to devote their whole time and substance to the propagation of the faith, which the married or secular clergy could not and cannot do. "The religious habit was at that time in great veneration: so that wherever any clergyman or monk happened to come, he was joyfully received by all persons as God's servant. And if they met him on the way, they ran, and bowing, were rejoiced to have the sign of the cross made over them with his hand, or to be blessed with his mouth. They also attended most earnestly to the word of exhortation. On Sundays they flocked eagerly to church or to the monasteries, to hear the word of God. If any priest happened to come into a village, the inhabitants running together were diligent to ask the word of life from him. The priests and clergymen entered the villages to preach, baptize, and visit the sick—in few words, to take care of souls."[†]

* *Bede's Eccl. Hist.* b. 3, c. 5.
† *Bede's Eccl. Hist.* b. 3, c. 27.

DESTRUCTION OF EAST COAST.

Dunwich has been swallowed up by the sea. Of its numerous churches, its brazen gates, its fortified walls, its deep wells, nothing now remains but the tottering ruins of one large church, and the brick-work of one well. Human bones project from the face of the lofty cliff where the churchyards have been washed away. These relics are fast disappearing.^{*} And as you stand on the green heights, and looking over the hoarse complaining sea, mark the smooth destructive sweep of its still encroaching tides, we may readily conceive how great must have been and will still be the destruction on this devoted coast. Ravages not less desolating are going on at Felixstow. A large and ancient castle, and a vast tract of low land which served as a sheep walk belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, have been covered by deep water. About 80 years since a plough and horses could go round the ruins of the castle. This was the building destroyed most probably in the reign of Henry the Third, after the landing of the Flemings. Sir S. Fludyer's lodge awaits within a few feet the next assaults of its unsparing enemy. But the churches of the Bishop stand at some distance inland, and ages must elapse ere the present tides can reach their sacred walls. Before that period, so great a change will have probably occurred in the bay where he landed, that the North tide from the German ocean receiving a new direction, the churches may stand as a memorial to the end of time of the first labours of Bishop Felix, amongst the East Anglians in Suffolk.[†]

The term England is derived from the nation that settled in these counties. Their stature, mind, and

* Dunwich—I visited this interesting yet melancholy place in 1839. A small church has been built inland. Scarcely a ruin remains, and on the shore there is nothing but a white hard sand, smooth and of little extent; water, restless and always murmuring covers all the rest.

† The population of some of these Saxon kingdoms is mentioned by the venerable Bede. The Southern Mercians consisted of 5000 families—the Northern Mercians of 7000 families. 12,000 multiplied by 5=60,000. Reckoning five to a family it will be found that the population had much increased in 1086, if Suffolk held the same proportionate number of families as these, or the Mercians. But in addition must be added twice as many families of slaves, as these were most probably not enumerated in this census, being then considered too vile and ignoble.

EAST ANGLIA—ENGLAND.

courage were superior to the other nations. Their dialect of Saxon also prevailed over the others. And all England takes its name from the East Anglian kingdom where the Angles resided. The date of this change from Britain to England or Engel-londe, is about 820, and was effected at the command of Egbert, the first monarch of the whole united seven Saxon kingdoms.*

In these and still earlier times, when Christianity was first introduced into England, it was customary for the missionaries to select some one known gigantic tree as their place of assemblage. These leafy tabernacles were generally oaks of vast size and stature. Nor is it at all unlikely that some of them were thus chosen because from their gigantic bosoms the sacred mistletoe of the Druids had been cut, and they were consecrated by superstitious veneration in the minds of the people as sacred places. Nor were they inappropriate pulpits for the Apostolic Bishops and Priests, who thus in making their shades vocal with the gospel words, proclaimed by their voice and presence the victory of Christ over darkness and idolatry.

Such trees have been always, by tradition, from these early times to the present day, called GOSPEL OAKS. But very few of them now are left to remind us of the far-gone past. In Saxon times, when the second introduction of Christianity occurred, the same hallowed places were employed, and new ones selected. And from one or both of these periods, this delightful name, of Gospel Oak, still continues to linger amongst some of our parks, and recalls the strange assemblages which have taken place around their mighty trunks, whilst fancy peoples the woods and groves with the wandering congregations of those, who as yet had no churches in which to worship, or as Saxons, had burned them to the ground. There is one such Gospel Oak still remaining in this part of

GOSPEL OAKS.

the county, in the park of Polstead Hall, where Chas. Tyrell, Esq. of Gipping, resides. It stands almost in front of the house, at a distance of about 150 yards, and close to the adjoining early Norman church, with its stone spire and peaceful burial ground. It rises like a small feudal tower out of the green field to the height of twenty feet, and still possesses vigorous remains of the three enormous stems into which it was divided above. This earth-born giant is 43 feet in circumference four feet from the ground, and the base slopes gradually outwards as the sides bury themselves in the earth, giving one the idea of a skilful architect's hand having systematically planted an enormous foundation for that stupendous mass of wood, which a thousand or fifteen hundred years since must have loaded its shoulders. It is hollow within, and could seat eight or ten persons. From its summit, where once the Apostolic preacher lifted up his voice, and where the white and purple tunic of the arch Druid waved as he cut the mystic emblem of the deluge, they now shoot from a rest the stately deer as he paces unconscious of harm below. The bark is generally gone, except in one or two places where it winds like a stream of rough verdure to supply the branches, which still drop their acorns into your face as you gaze upwards, and are thus reminded of the passing seasons. Its wood is seared, knotted, and in some places looks like a piece of sculpture smoothed and wrought by hand into waving channels. By its side, and at a distance of some eight feet, is a tall oak of 80 years growth, a scion no doubt of such a mighty tree. But it looks puerile and a child when compared with its parent. And some idea may be formed of this, perhaps one of the last fast departing memorials of Roman and Saxon times, when on comparison it would take twenty or more such trunks of a hundred years' growth, to make up the bulk of the glorious size of this mighty pillar, thus erected by the hand of nature to the memory of past generations.

* Fuller.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DANISH INVASIONS, AND THE SETTLEMENTS MADE BY THAT NATION IN SUFFOLK, FROM A.D. 800 TO 1000.

THE DANES.

AMONGST all those tribes and nations, which burst forth in repeated swarms during 500 years from the mysterious recesses of the North and East, the most ferocious and cruel were the Danes. Their outrages upon their prisoners and enemies were deliberate and systematic. Their savage passions were inflamed into a species of frenzy by the rules of a fraternity which existed in their armies, whose members were bound to infuriate themselves into such raging madness, that after their excesses, they sank for some hours into a helpless state of exhaustion. During these fits of temporary insanity, thus at stated times produced by all kinds of stimulants, their object was to indulge in every excess of cruelty or lust which their depraved imaginations could suggest, and in which they might be able to exceed the ordinary ferocity practised by the whole of the members of their army. Unlike the Saxons, when the battle was over and the country gained, they rested not, as long as any prisoner remained to be tormented, any child to be murdered, or any dwelling to be destroyed. They are described as demons and not as men by those who suffered under their cruelties. Such were the foes, who for 150 years chastised and troubled our country.

They began their ravages about the year 800, and continued them for 200 years. Their kings held the crown for about 20 years, and then it reverted to Edward the Confessor. Thus the singular Saxon prediction, made by their German prophets, was fulfilled. They fought 150 years—reigned peaceably 150—which embraced the period of 300 years, in which they held the country, and then they in turn

FIRST INVASION.

had to fight for their own national existence during nearly 200 years of warfare.*

In 852, the first most important invasion of the Danes was made by a large army. They entered the Thames with 350 ships, and cast anchor in the strand, nearly opposite to where St. Clement Danes church now stands, which bears a silver anchor on its arms, as commemorative of this disastrous event, and had the addition of Danes given to it from the same cause.

In 860, a great Danish fleet headed by Ingvar and Hubba, anchored off the coast of Suffolk, landed, and were permitted by the king of East Anglia to encamp in two or three different bodies during the winter. At the opening of the next spring they broke up their village or encampment of wooden huts, and wandered into Yorkshire. The place where these encampments was formed is not correctly known. Wherever they remained for any time, traces are still left of the horror inspired by their presence in the name of the locality. One such spot exists in Stowmarket, on the road leading to Finborough, where the meadows slope down to the rivulet, the hop grounds, and the nursery garden, bear the name of *The Dane Croft*, thus marking, I presume, one of these encampments. A village in the adjoining Hundred, on the same line of road, but to the left, is still also singularly ominous of their evil name, and is called Rattles-Dane,† or Rates-Dane, now pronounced Rattlesden.

* *Gildas Hist. c. 23.*

† Denas, was the Saxon way of writing the word—as at Yarmouth still, where the green hills by the margin of the sea are called the Denes, from a similar cause.

DANES IN STOW HUNDRED.

From the close proximity of the old Roman camp to the neighbourhood, which was then occupied by the Saxon troops, the probability of this army of Danes having been here is strengthened. They either placed themselves to attack Haughley, as in the year 870, when king Edmund was martyred by them, or at this period the king would naturally, if he had the power, place them in its neighbourhood to be overawed by his garrison. In 870, a large marauding army marched from Lincolnshire into Suffolk, burning every church, and murdering every religious person in their progress. King Edmund met them near Hoxne, and was there defeated, taken prisoner, bound to a tree, as he would not become an idolater, and shot to death with arrows. In after years, his body was carried to Bederickeworth, a small village, and a sumptuous church erected to his honour, which gave the name of St. Edmund's tun, to that before insignificant place. In still later times, one of the largest and richest monasteries in England was established in this town. It was then incorporated and became St. Edmund's Burh, or Bury.*

The dreadful deeds of the Danes in this march are described with much minuteness. These and other places were visited by them, and wherever plunder could be obtained, or battles fought, or blood could be shed, there the Danes rushed to the slaughter with ferocious songs of joy. In Old Newton, on the boundary of Stowupland, at the foot of Columbine-hall wood, in a long low valley, which winds peacefully up to Gipping-hall, and through whose green meadows the stream forming the head of the river creeps along, there exists a spot of ground, marked as a battle-field, between the Saxon and Dane, and called Stone Bridge. Bones of men and horses in great abundance have been found for many years in that place, amid a black vein of dark unctuous mould. The relics of this ancient period of warfare lie in heaps four or five feet below the surface, and are cir-

Does the name *Rates-dane* commemorate their arrival in boats up the Gipping to this point? It was navigable for flat-bottomed vessels into this parish in the 13th century.—*Vide a future chapter.*

* *Doomsday*—where it is only a vill or town, and not incorporated or in Burh in 1086.

FIELD OF BATTLE.

cumscribed, as if collected together in shallow pits. Bones of horses and men broken and entire are intermingled with spurs without rowels; bits of sword blades two or three inches broad; pieces of the heads of spears; scraps of armour; horses' shoes of great breadth, and made to cover nearly the whole hoof; nails and rivets. The jaw-bones of the horses and the shoes are found within two or three feet of each other. Most of the memorials of the dead when turned up crumble into dust, some are thin like wafers, and large masses of bones in patches of discoloured yellowish earth may be traced, but do not bear removal. Like the fierce warriors themselves, they vanish as you seek to place a modera hand upon them. There has been about half an acre of this quiet meadow disturbed for gravel, upon which these remains rest, and they have been found in every part. At present the ground is more abundant in them and they increase. Recently, the remains of an ancient stone road appear below. The ford of the rivulet, the Gipping, near them, is called Stone Bridge. Some of the human jaw-bones are of vast size, and fit with ease over the faces of the labourers. Such are some of the evidences of the deadly struggle between the two races, which then fought for the possession of England's bright fields. The woods covering the summit of Haughley castle may be seen from near this place, and it then formed one of the last strong holds to the Saxon. And some lines of entrenchment exist about Columbine-hall, immediately above the field of conflict.*

Cavalry was a force much used by the Danes in their ravages, whilst the Saxons seem to have confined themselves to a close-handed fight with battle-axes and short broad swords on foot, in one compact resolute body. They lost the great battle in Lincolnshire, which led to this invasion of Suffolk, by breaking their ranks to pursue their enemies, when a feigned flight was made to draw them from such an impregnable position.†

* The property belongs to Gen. Rebow, of Wivenhoe-park, Colchester, and is occupied by Mr. J. Turner, of Old Newton.

† *Turner's Angl. Sax.*

ALFRED.

When Alfred the Great* ascended the throne in 871, the Danes had been so successful in repeated battles, that the struggle between them and our Saxon ancestors was no longer for mere plunder or the pleasures of cruelty, but for the conquest of all Britain. It was now a contest of life against life, of nation against nation, and the prize was no less than the extinction of a whole people, and the acquisition of their lands. The fierce warfare once before carried on by the Saxon against the Briton, was now waged by the Dane against the Saxon, who came, as the latter had done, with the ripened determination to gain a kingdom and a new country for his tribe. Thousands rushed over the German ocean in their frail vessels, as piratical adventurers, or in well-appointed fleets as robbers dignified into armies, to assist their countrymen in the conquest of England. Godrum, or Guthrum, had been named by Hubba Governor of East Anglia, and he assisted their march into the interior, as the successive invaders arrived on the coast at Yarmouth, Dunwich, and Ipswich.

In 878, Alfred was compelled to fly into the green securities of trackless marshy grounds in Athelney, near the borders of Wales. Here in a verdant island

* 855] The statute law confirming the tithe of all the land to the church, is found in this year, and was made by Alfred's father, Ethelwulf; but the tithe at common law must have been introduced with the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity. The religious order included males and females, and as one of the original institutions in the Christian church was still preserved. Females devoted themselves to God and the church in early times, and we find allusion made to them in the New Testament.

But this institution from being voluntary and without vows, became abused to compulsory vows, and the abominations of an unnatural celibacy. At this period, however, its abuses had not been severely felt, and monasteries were still valued as places of pious seclusion from the world. "Therefore, I, Ethelwulf, king of the Saxons, with the advice of my Bishops and Princes, affirming a salutary counsel, and uniform remedy, we have consented that I have adjudged some hereditary portion of land to all degrees before possessing it, whether male or female servants of God, serving him—or poor lay men—always the tenth mansion—where that may be the least then the tenth part of all goods should be given in perpetual freedom to the church, so that it may be safe and protected from all secular services, and regal contributions greater or smaller, or taxation which we call Wynterden; and that it may be free from all things; and without the military expedition, building of bridges, and construction of fortresses."—*Ingulf Hist.* b. 17.—*e. Turner's Angl. Saz.*

MIS POLICY.

of smooth turf, rising out of the midst of thick woods and deep waters, he lived in obscurity for some months. He assisted to bake the good woman's bread on the hearth, yet burned her cakes, and bore with patience her scolding tongue. The herdsman Denulf, did not know the quality of his guest; but when the king had regained his throne, this herdsman entered the church, and by Alfred was made Bishop of Winchester.

In a night attack on the Danes in the West, Odun, one of the Saxon nobility, slew Hubba the ferocious Dane in his tent, and captured the celebrated raven standard of the enemy. This flag was woven by the three sisters of Hubba in one night, and had for its device a raven with wings outspread hovering over the prey. Its capture was deemed to foreshow the overthrow of the Danes, and soon after, in one decisive engagement Alfred destroyed the greater part of all their forces. The leader of this great army was Guthrum, the Danish governor of Suffolk. Alfred had visited his camp in the disguise of a harper, and noted all their forces. A few days elapsed, and then he assaulted the entrenchments, stormed their camp, and for some hours the destinies of the two nations trembled in suspense. The Danes at last wavered, fled, and were routed with tremendous slaughter.

In a wise policy, Alfred determined to convert the Eastern Danes, who remained as relics of this immense army, into friends, and engraft them upon the nation. He therefore proposed to the fugitive Guthrum that he should embrace Christianity, and still retain the governorship of East Anglia, with certain lands in Suffolk and Norfolk for his soldiers. After some delay the Dane consented. He was baptized, and then returning to Suffolk, he divided many of its lands, where the Saxon proprietors and their families had been killed, amongst his soldiers. The policy succeeded for Alfred, and he died in peace in 901, the acknowledged monarch of the whole of England. Guthrum retained his governorship of these counties for some years, and died and was buried in Hadleigh, twelve miles from Stowmarket. Alfred was indebted to the church for the wise principles which governed

DANISH SETTLEMENTS.

his reign, and to the Scriptures for many of his laws. He was committed when only six years old to the care of Swithin, a Bishop distinguished for piety, and was too wise to desert the principles in which he had been educated.*

From the close of Alfred's reign in 901 to 980, the Danish invasions on any grand and commanding plan had ceased. Many Danes became under Guthrum large proprietors of the soil, and changed the fierce excitements of war for the wild pleasures of boar hunting and other silvan sports. They resided principally in this part of Suffolk, and some of the names and families in the Hundred bear to this day strong evidences of their Northern blood and origin. In those times the children of these Danish soldiers were dangerous friends, and too frequently betrayed the Saxons in battle. For now another series of invasions commenced, and the Eastern sea once more swarmed with their vessels and fleets.†

In 1004 (circa) Swain, king of Denmark, landed in Norfolk, with an immense horde of these savage warriors, and besieged and took Norwich. He rifled and burned Thetford, and then retreated to his ships with all his booty. In 1008, to raise a navy it was enacted by king Egelred that each 310 hides of land, or each 310,000 acres should furnish one ship, and every 800 acres a complete suit of armour. The hides of cultivated or arable land (under the plough) in England amounted to 243,600;‡ so that 735 ships

* Hollinshed.

† 970] The whole kingdom of East Anglia was at this period fortified by an earthen rampart and ditch from North to South, which ran from Maldon in Essex through part of Cambridgeshire, until it reached the sea, and thus a defence or line of posts could be maintained on the land side against the other Saxon kingdoms. Part of its remains is still called the devil's dyke, and may be seen near Newmarket. The internal condition of the county and the high perfection to which agriculture was brought in those early times in our part of the kingdom, may be well conceived from the following extract from Abbo Floriacensis who lived at this date. "The inner part of it is a pretty rich soil, made exceedingly pleasant by gardens and groves, rendered agreeable by its convenience for hunting, famous for pasturage, and abounding with sheep and all sorts of cattle. Its rivers are full of fish. The fens accommodate great numbers of Monkies with their desired retirement and solitude."—*Camden's Iceni.*

‡ Each hide is 100 acres.

BATTLE NEAR IPSWICH.

and armour for 90,450 men were raised.* This mighty fleet assembled at Sandwich in the following year; but a storm, and the treachery of some leaders of Danish blood, dispersed the whole navy.

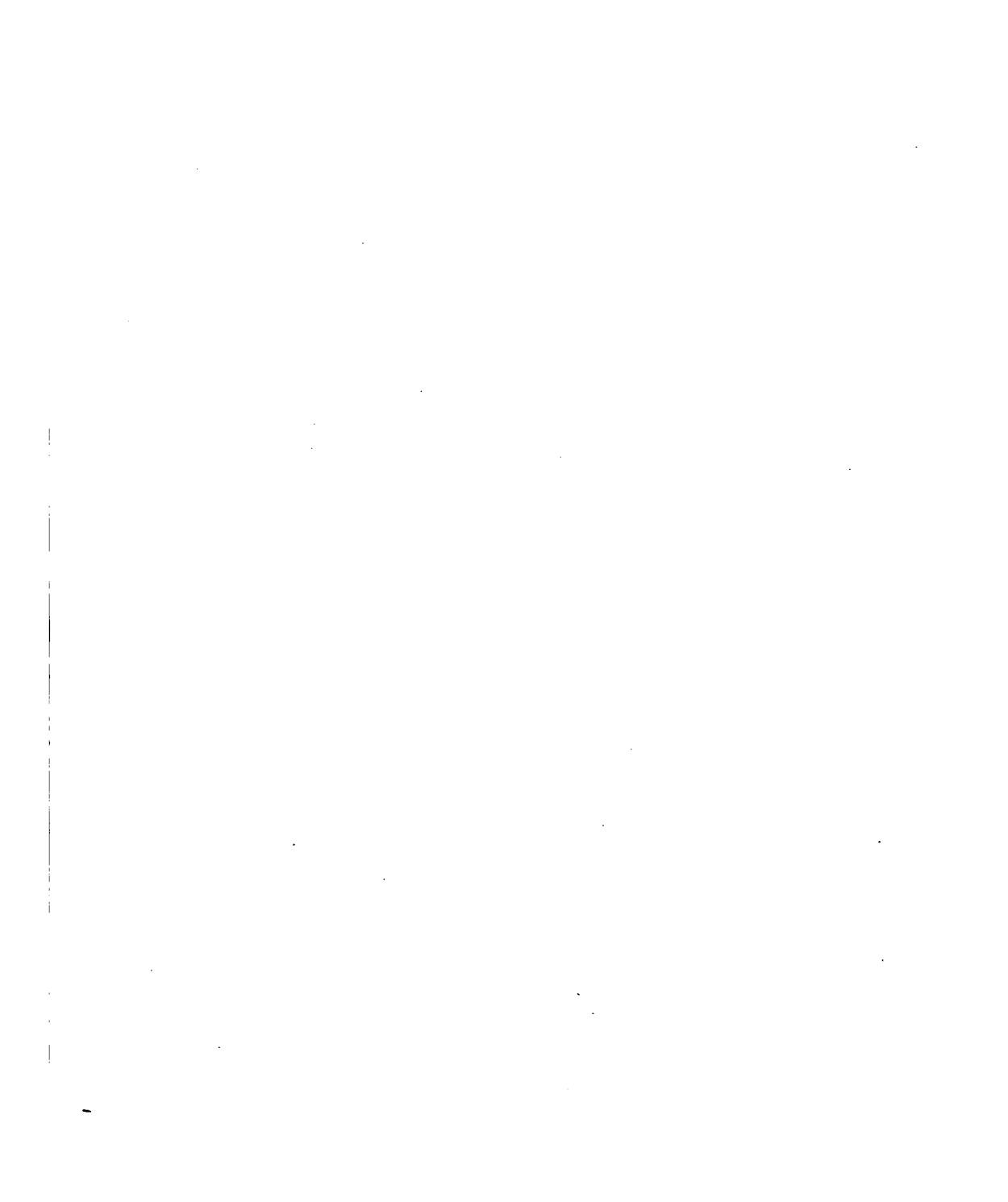
1010] On Ascension-day a great Danish fleet, led by Justin and Gurthmand, arrived in the river Orwell, and proceeded to Ipswich, (Ipswich,) which they sacked and burned. This invasion was long remembered in the name of one of the parishes on the river Orwell, to which the name of Guthram's fordham was given by the Saxon.† Here the Danish army crossed the river from the Walton side, and from thence marched to Rushmere, where the engagement occurred. On the first of May they encountered the Suffolk and Norfolk men in the latter parish then called Rigmere.‡ The English army was commanded by a Saxon nobleman named Wilfeketel, and it is not improbable that his residence was at Onehouse in this Hundred.|| The levies from these counties were repulsed in the first onset and retreated, but some Cambridge regiments stood firm, penetrating the lines of the enemy and killing their chief warriors. The issue of this important engagement was doubtful. Victory hovered over the English forces, when Turketell Mirenehered, (a name held infamous afterwards,) whose father had been a Danish soldier settled in some part of the county, by his frantic shouts and gestures in the English army excited a panic amongst his own soldiers. This soon spread, and as the man of Danish blood continued to fly, he disordered the ranks of his forces, and the whole army broke, fled, and were totally defeated. For three succeeding months, the whole of this side of the county was a prey to the sanguinary excesses of the Danes. They burned the newly-erected churches, which were principally wooden buildings, plundered, murdered, and dishonoured the inhabitants. The children were tossed on spears for sport.

* Turner—Baker.

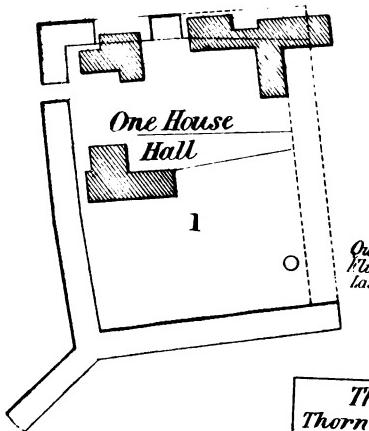
† *Doomsday Book*—Table of Parishes in Appendix. The parish is now termed Chelmondiston,—a curious corruption.

‡ Rushmere,—near Ipswich—relics of bones, &c. will discover the field of conflict.

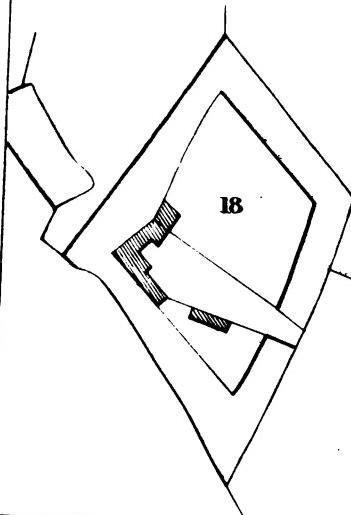
|| See chapter on the proprietors in *Doomsday*, &c.



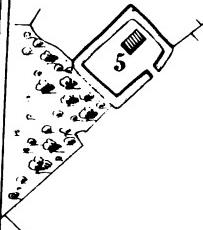
*Parish of Onehouse.
on the Estate of Lady Hotham.
5. Chains to an Inch.*



*Stowupland.
on the Estate of
Earl Ashburnham.*



*Groton.
on the Estate of
Mr Ben Boutell.*

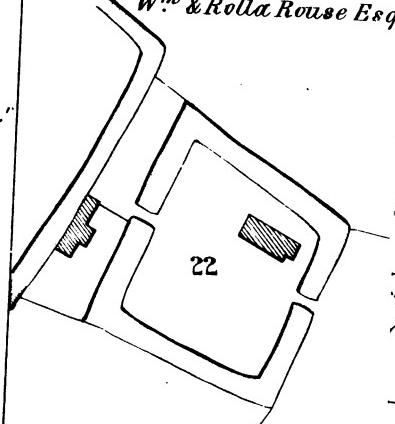


*Chilton.
on the Estate
W^m Howe Wymo*



*Thorndale
M^rs S*

*Hasketon.
on the Estate of
W^m & Rolla Rouse Esq*



DANES AT IPSWICH.

Thetford and Cambridge were destroyed. The houses were burnt, the cattle slain, and feasted on before the eyes of the miserable owners, their children were murdered slowly that the Danes might enjoy the shrieks of the helpless mothers, the women were debased, and then the remnant of the inhabitants of each parish were driven onward as slaves, bearing the plunder of their own homes, to enrich their conquerors.*

The folly of the Saxon kings, their weakness, and the judicial blindness which infected their minds, induced them to pay large sums of money to the Danes; who were in that opprobrious manner bribed to leave the country. Treachery surrounded the court. The descendants of the Suffolk Danes were everywhere deceitful, and betrayed all the counsels of the kingdom to the enemy, until after a variety of humiliating struggles a compromise was effected. The Danes found the conquest of the island impossible. Divine providence did not suffer the Saxon race to be vanquished by those who were connected with them in blood. For two reigns the crown was held by a king of Danish race, when in 1041, Edward the Confessor, of pious and beloved memory, ascended the throne, and restored the Saxon line to the distracted kingdom. The struggle between two fierce nations then ceased, and some of those mysterious dispensations of chastisement and preparation, by which the nation was adapted for its extraordinary destinies in the world, were suspended during a few years. The elements of strength in the lower and middle orders were already laid. We shall now have to examine the introduction of a new element of intellectual and moral power amongst the higher ranks of Saxon nobility and on the throne.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MOATS AND FORTS IN SUFFOLK.

Vide the Etching.

During these great centuries of contest between the Danes and Saxons, innumerable skirmishes were taking place between the hostile nations. The ir-

SUFFOLK FORTS.

ruption of the Saxon appears to have been that of a torrent, which none could resist, levelling all resistance, and subduing the whole nation in a small number of bloody engagements. But not so with this struggle between the Saxons and Danes. The two races were equally matched in courage and in strength; but the Saxon surpassed his foe in that stern unyielding endurance, which enabled him to resist every defeat, and prepare again for the contest. The whole surface of the country became studded with entrenchments, moats, and mounds, within whose lines the harassed Saxon defended his property, and all he valued in his home. Each of these enclosures became the rallying point for the surrounding parishes. To this the flying proprietor carried his wounded children, or bore off his wife and preserved her from the cruelties of Danish dishonour, whilst his house was abandoned to the flames. In these places men fought, assisted by their females, for country, property, and life. The tide of battle ebbed and flowed around their little fortresses in alternate currents of success and defeat. The rude deep moat and lofty entrenchment was at times the only place of security in each parish. So great was the necessity for such fortifications, within which the last hopes of the nation rallied, that in almost every parish one or more of them may be found.

I am indebted to *Mr. Biddell, of Playford*, for the annexed tracings, made by himself, of many of these curious relics of that fierce contest, which involved the existence or destruction of our nation. Their shape is not uniform, and the exigencies of the time, or the nature of the ground, caused some of these forms. In many, the simple enclosure of a small space of ground by a deep trench filled with water, and surrounded within by an earthen rampart, is all that was attempted. In others, as at Moneuden, Stow-upland, Hasketon, Elmsett, a peculiar figure adapted to suit some particular species of defence was adopted. In every Hundred throughout the county will be found a larger work, suited to accommodate the forces or men of that Hundred, and become a fortress, into which they might retreat from the smaller or parochial forts, and defend themselves. These may be

* Hollinshed

LINDSEY CAMP.

noticed at Haughley, in Stow—at Thorndon, in Hartismere—and at Lindsey, in Cosford, in the drawing. In the latter case, the lines of earthen rampart “enclose between three and four acres of ground,”* but much has been carted away for manure. A happy change for those who live around such places! and yet a deplorable evidence of the want of interest in these relics of former days, which when preserved lead to many grateful reflections upon our present security and peace. This great entrenchment at Lindsey may be the remains of the Roman camp, marked as Cambretonio in the Itinerary of Antoninus.† It is near Hadleigh, and in the line of road there laid down. The Ordnance Survey has not described this ancient camp. Not so large as Haughley or Sito-Magus, it yet possesses many features of antiquity which may connect its creation with other Roman stations.

At Haughley,‡ the enclosure amounts to seven or eight acres, and the earthen rampart remains in much of its extent. But this is the largest of all these works, and probably the most important. Scarcely any vestiges remain of the interior ramparts (except at Haughley,) but when first formed it is likely that all of them possessed this addition to their defences. In after times, when the country was disturbed by internal wars, these mounds had been removed, and employed in various operations connected with agriculture, but the moats were kept entire, and in some cases enlarged. At night the cattle were driven within this enclosed ground for security, and

THEIR FORMATION.

sudden robberies from marauding parties prevented. But no attempt to resist a trained body of troops was made, as the arms and system of warfare had both been changed, and even the addition of a lofty interior mound would have proved unserviceable against the troops of the middle ages. In these very early periods, no houses existed within the entrenchments. The old halls were afterwards built in the interior, as both secure and convenient, for such residences are dry and have water very near them. In every parish one or more ancient halls exist surrounded by moats. “In most instances I have reason to believe the private residences were made upon enclosures many centuries older than the house.”* And in all these cases, on examination, it will be found that the oldest house within them, is much younger than the ancient lines of water and earth. Some of these places have evidently been employed at different periods, and new and old works are intermixed, as 21—17—22. A very common form* is to be found in 14—2—24, where an obtuse angle is always made in one corner. In other places, the sharp angles are broken, and large irregular spaces filled with water created as 3—4—7—13—18—24—27. This may have been produced in some of the numerous contests carried on around their defences, by the attacking or defending parties, seeking either to enlarge the moat at some particular point, or planting in it some rude engine by which they crossed the water, and which when removed or decayed enlarged the moat thus irregularly at those particular spots. In numerous cases (29) these scenes of bloody strife are obliterated, or so changed, that much of their original form is lost. Enough however remains to connect us with the past, and remind us of that inflexible and obstinate courage which secured our ancestors in their possessions, and resides still in British hearts.

* Mr. Biddell, apportioner under the Tithe Act.

† See Chapter 2.

‡ (By the kindness of a Welch scholar, the Rev. Mr. Jones, of Caerleon,) the meaning of SITO MAGO, or MAGUS (see chapter 2,) may be stated to be the TOWERING OR HIGH WALLS. This corresponds very well with the position of the camp and its height, with its original extent and importance, as *Y magwyr syth*, the towering or erect walls, corrupted probably into Syth Magus, or Sito Magus.

* Mr. Biddell.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE HUNDRED OF STOW, AND OF ALL SIMILAR LANDED DIVISIONS, FROM A.D. 871 TO A.D. 901.

ALFRED'S POLICY.

THE division of our County into Hundreds, and the separate Hundred therefore of Stow, first appears in the form of statute law in the latter part of Alfred's reign, or about the year 890. But this arrangement, though attributed by some writers solely to him, is one of a much more ancient date. It is not improbable that being a landed division it is derived from the ancient Britons. Alfred seems to have merely placed it upon record, and made it universal through the country; so that every inhabitant was compelled to find himself within the grasp of legal government, and the net-work of law and obedience was thus spread over the whole nation. A division of some kind amongst the population existed in the Anglo Saxon tribes in Germany before they emigrated to England.* But there is no mention of any landed division of their marshes and forests. And the most probable supposition is, that this elaborate plan for the political subjugation of a whole people under the healthy supremacy of the law, was a part of the old British constitution which the Druids had formed.

Alfred translated many of the British laws into Saxon, and adopted them in his kingdom, which he was then endeavouring to unite under one monarch into a powerful nation. He also translated many of the British books into Anglo Saxon. Some of those statements of pure Scripture doctrine which we have in the Saxon homilies, may be of a much older date, and are probably the homilies of the

* "Centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est."—*Tacitus de Morib. Ger.* 6. *Inde originem sumpserit Anglorum Hundredas.*—*Et vide, ex Julis Cœsare, Bell. Gall.* 4, 1.

ROMAN POLICY.

*British church, uncontaminated with Rome and her later superstitions.**

To this it may be said, that the Romans make no mention of such divisions. Their policy however was to leave the institutions of the conquered country untouched when they did not interfere with their empire, or to adopt them for the local interests of themselves and the inhabitants. By this policy each country was still as distinct as before its subjugation, and yet all were bound together by the iron links of the legions and their civil officers. The new nation was instructed to consider itself honoured in becoming a member of a vast family, whose head, protector, and glory were at Rome. Their peculiar habits and customs, even their religion, unless hostile to the dominion of Rome, were not abolished. Toleration and subjection, the influence of example and persuasion in changing national peculiarities, were employed instead of sudden violence. And hence arose a combination of power, which in the virtuous times of the empire, established a dominion never before equalled, and now only exceeded by ourselves.

The whole country under Alfred was divided into COUNTIES — HUNDREDS — and TITHINGS. Each possessed its Court. The tithing was composed of ten *freehold* families or more who dwelt together, and were bound for each other's behaviour. It is said that originally each tithing was considered as having, or that it ought to possess within itself a church; a burial ground; divine service; and the sacraments.†

* *Leges Britonum Rex Eluridus translatis in Anglicum —et multis libros translatis eodem modo. Iste instituit Hundredas et Tithinges ad latrones investigandos.*—*Monasticon, vol. i, 32.*

† *Blackston, 1, s. 4.*

COUNTY MEETINGS.

The tithings then were simply parishes, and of them the Hundred was made up. Ten of these parishes were supposed to form the Hundred. But this artificial arrangement prevailed in very few places, for the Hundreds seem rather to have been made at random than on one definite numerical plan. In our Hundred, the number of principal tithings or parishes would amount to twelve at this date, or if the hamlets should be included would amount to eighteen.* Alfred probably found the divisions as a part of the old constitution, which the Saxons adopted from the British, and wished to bring them under this exact form, but failed in the attempt. The older limits remained, and the boundaries of the Hundreds and of the Counties are most likely of an age long prior to the discovery of Britain by the Romans.

I consider therefore the Hundred of Stow, like its fellow divisions in the county, to be a British arrangement of land for constitutional purposes, in order that the whole population might through their local courts and representatives be united into one great national family under a supreme head. In British times under the Druids, this legal head was himself a Druid. In Saxon times, the executive power became regal, as it ought to be, in either male or female branches. The Hundred held its court, to which, in the survey in Doomsday-book, repeated reference is made, in Stow. On points of uncertainty it is there frequently asserted—"the Hundred affirms—or the Hundred does not know—or the Hundred denies it." The court of the Hundred by its deputies selected from each tithing or parish is here meant.

From the Hundreds thus assembled in their courts, the County courts were formed. And from the whole County assembled in their freemen or delegates at one central place, members were sent to the Witen-a-Ghemot, or great Parliament of the nation. The central town or Hundred from the earliest times seems to have been Stowmarket, or the royal manor of Thorney, which having the privilege of the only market in the Hundred, became from its posi-

THEIR RESULTS.

tion in the county, and from people resorting to it, the place for the county to assemble. The term Stow, is the Saxon name for *the place*, or principal place. Hundred of Stow, is the Hundred of the place. What place? THE PLACE for the great county meetings, then of vast importance. [certus locus, STOWE]* Thus the legal head, the king or queen through his parliament-man, the member through his county, the county through its hundreds, the hundreds through its parishes or tithings, and the tithing through its families, could reach any *one* individual in any part of the kingdom. And each man was responsible for his good conduct to his neighbour, and the parish or neighbourhood through all the intermediate courts, was responsible for its legal behaviour to the whole community.

In this beautiful political machine, the right of representation was equally well preserved. Every freeman's voice could be heard. The individual liberty of the smallest freeholder was uninjured, nor could the law be made but by his vote being consulted, neither might any law be changed without his concurrence or negative. Hence the noble freedom of the old Briton, and the war-like liberty of the dignified Saxon were preserved. And yet all were enclosed within that net of legal restraint which acted for the good of the whole.

Religion in Alfred's time in our Hundred and in the *vill*, town, or market † of the Hundred, was that form which had been introduced by Augustin from Rome, associated with the remains of the old British church. This latter church, planted by St. Paul,

* So also BRIG STOWE—Brigstowe, Bristol, the place of the bridge, over the Severn.

MICHAEL'S STOWE—Michael's place, St. Michael's mount.

NEON STOWE—Cornwall.

FELIX STOWE—now on the coast, the place or town of Felix. See Chapter 6.

THE STOWE—the Stowe, or the Principal Place, or the Hundred belonging to *the Place*, for the county to assemble. [Vide Anglo Saxon Lexicon STOW—Fr. *sto*, a principal place.] To THORE, LEOFAR STOWE—to the beloved place. GE SIOFH THA STOWE aspicite locum—behold the place. TO THAM STOWE—to that place, &c.

† *Mercurius unus in Torneia* (Stow H.) This market was afterwards injured by Haughley, but at this early period, Haughley had no market.—*Doomsday Svedvilec.*

* Parishes in Doomsday-book, c. 11.

RELIGION.

had protested for a length of time against Romish usurpations, and rejected all union with its step-sister Faith amongst the Angles. But a compromise was at length effected. A union took place. The terms of it can only be known in its effects. And henceforward we find the united English church protesting with many difficulties against the usurpations of Romanism, whilst in certain non-essential points and forms she conformed to her communion. Dissent, as it is now called, was then unknown in any distinct form, and did not exist till the year 1550. And whenever it made its appearance, the Romish church was sufficiently powerful and politic instantly to admit it within its pale. So that parties differing from each other in speculative points were acknowledged, and yet maintained their own peculiar notions within the Church. In those days, however, an actual disunion with the established worship was neither tolerated nor known. The Benedictine had his own churches or chapels, but in them the worship was by the established ritual modified in non-essentials. Unity was their symbol "in written creeds, and in an established episcopal church," whilst a perfect freedom existed, for each man to select what Monkish order he pleased as a religious help-mate. Jealousy of wealth and power was active, but both regular and secular clergy (the monastic and the parochial minister) united against the common foes of Christianity. The parish churches of the land were revered as sacred edifices, and many of them stand upon foundations, laid by those early British churches, which were founded upon the consecrated ruins of the Druidical temples overthrown by the gospel of Christ. A profound sense of the importance and truth of invisible things was the living soul of the most powerful minds in the nation. These master-spirits made religion the key-stone of the arch of civil and political society, and hence arose a stability in the British Constitution of Church and State united, which has outlived many convulsions, and is destined to outlive more.

The notion of such a dissent from the Established Church as should cause an endless variety of sects, in almost yearly succession, dividing, distracting,

DISSENT.

and harassing all its own members, would have been viewed as a pious profanity impossible to be conceived by our ancestors. None of them, not even the Reformers in the 16th Century, some of whom were unwise willing to admit its new principles, would have viewed its later results in its perpetual divisions, without great alarm. For these things necessarily weaken men's general belief in the truth of our common Christianity, and increase Infidelity. Let us pray and hope, that good but erring men may at last become wise enough to learn, how much more scriptural it is to bear with some non-essential points in union with an Apostolic Episcopal Church, than by separation reduce ourselves to the necessity of being driven by every new religious fancy hopelessly, and always during this life, amid the quick-sands and shallows of religious dissensions.

It was Alfred that first organized a naval force against the Danes, and met these piratical marauders upon their own element in battle. He was the father of the English navy. Strange as it may seem, the Saxon warriors though indebted to their vessels for having carried them to the shores of England, never systematically thought of opposing these terrific enemies in a naval engagement. They permitted them to land and then disputed the possession of the country hand to hand. But Alfred with instinctive genius seized upon the idea of a naval force, and by this means swept the narrow seas in lofty barks of many oars, and actually rowed down these corsairs, or fought with them upon the reeling deck in sight of those shores on which they were never suffered to land. The Danish spirit quailed beneath the superior energies of the English king. They curbed their "sea horses," as they termed their vessels, and confessed at last that the island was guarded best and most securely by her wooden walls. To effect this great object, and maintain the navy in strength and repair, constant funds were necessary. A general taxation was for this truly national object a general blessing. Every man's home and family were secured from Danish horrors by this glorious institution, and to perpetuate the navy *Dane Gelt*, or a Danish tax was imposed on the whole country. The

FIRST NAVY.

Eastern coast, with Suffolk, contributed largely to this self-defensive tax. And I find in Doomsday,* that several of the parishes in Stow were rated according to their value for this purpose.†

"Thornai," or the ("Stow Mercatus") town of Stow, and royal manor of Thorney, paid 15*d.* (de Gelto xvd.)—Combs paid 37*d.*—Buxhall 25*d.*—Creeting 30*d.*—Haughley 17*d.*—Newton and Dag-

* *SVDPEVLC*, 281.

† *Danigeldi redditio propter piratas primitus statua est ad corum insolentiam reprimendam.*—*Wilkin Concilia Mag. Brit.* i, 312.

VALUE OF MONEY AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

This difficult subject has been adapted to the following scale, which will be seen to bear a certain mean between the extreme value of different authorities on this perplexing subject. The reader will please to refer to it in the remainder of the history, as the scale of value in different centuries for prices.—

Before the year (A.D.)	1000	money then was to } 15 times its pre- 1100 sent value.
	1100	to } 10 times greater.
	1200	to } 8 times greater.
	1300	to } 8 times greater.
	1300	to } 4 times greater.
	1400	to } 3 times greater.
	1500	to } 2 and 3 times greater.
	1600	to } 1 half greater.
	1700	

If a labourer's hire is fixed, as about 1340, by statute at one penny per day—or at another period at one shilling a week, it is plain this money must buy a bushel, at least of corn—or he could not live—and therefore at least one penny then, must be multiplied by 8, 10, or 12, to bring it near our present value.

FIRST NAVY.

worth 30*d.*—Wetherden 25*d.*—Torstuna 10*d.*—Thorpe 8*d.*—Chilton hamlet 8*d.*—Onehouse 6*d.* (obolus.) The value of each silver penny, as compared with money now, may be taken to be five shillings.* The Saxon silver penny was a coin of which four made one of their shillings. But as money was then so scarce, the comparative price of necessaries was equally low. One of the laws of Athelstan,† some years after this period in the tenth century, fixed the price of the best sheep in England at four of these pennies, or one shilling. If the same sheep now cost 20*s.* of our money, it is evident that every Saxon shilling, or four silver pence, was equal to £1 now. And thus the whole sum paid by each of these parishes in our Hundred to protect themselves against the Danes, amounts (in value) to

	£. s. d.
Combs	9 5 0
Buxhall	6 5 0
Creeting	7 10 0
Haughley	4 5 0
Dagworth	7 10 0
Wetherden	6 5 0
Torstuna	2 10 0
Thorpe	2 0 0
Chilton	2 0 0
Onehouse	1 10 6
Thorney	3 15 0
Total	<u>£52 15 6</u>

Yearly tax on the Hundred for protection against the Danes—a small sum for so great a benefit!

* See *Henry's England*, vol. 2,—Commerce.

† By the same law an ox was valued at 30 silver pennies—a cow at 20—a sow at 10= to £7 : 10 : 0 — £5 : 0 : 0 — and £2 : 10 : 0.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS, AND THE NORMAN REVOLUTION.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

WILLIAM, the bastard, duke of Normandy, as the asserted heir to Edward the Confessor, claimed the crown on his death. He even pleaded the will of the dying monarch, and appealed to the hereditary principles of the monarchy for his inheritance. Harold was rather an elected king than one of inheritance. And it was owing only to the strong hatred of foreigners which our fathers felt, that his claim and assumption of the throne had been tolerated. Still a large body of the nation was either discontented with his succession, or passively submissive to it as a defective title, which was only better than the rightful heir, because that person was a foreigner. The submission of the whole kingdom after one battle to William, is a convincing proof, that no national resistance by the whole body of the people or nobles was afterwards contemplated. He fought only with a part of the people, and the conquest as it is termed, was rather a revolution, by which the whole kingdom submitted with only a partial resistance to William.

The Hundred of Stow was divided by the contending claimants for the crown, like the rest of the kingdom. Harold had his partizans here. They appear to have been numerous. And one of them residing in Dagworth was killed at the battle of Hastings. His name was Breme, he was a freedman of king Edward's; and held 150 acres of arable land.* The population was then composed of Saxons, Britons, and Danes. A division of opinion on such a vital point as the claim to the throne, was the cause of William's success. And he took especial pains afterwards, to reward all those persons who had re-

SOLDIERS FROM DAGWORTH.

mained quiet in their homes, by allowing them to continue in possession of their lands, under the new lords, to whom he granted the forfeited estates of the Anglo Saxon nobles who had opposed him at Hastings. Brem's family lost their freshold and were reduced to a state of outcast villainage, and so became either bond labourers or personal slaves. The family had lived in ease and prosperity, and at the time of the survey were possessed of eleven labourers* and had three slaves in their service, with two teams of oxen. But the manor having been granted to Hugh de Montfort, the tenement reverted to him, and he gave it to some one of his own party of fierce soldiers who had assisted in gaining the battle of Hastings. This was the course adopted by all the Norman barons on obtaining the slain or attainted Anglo Saxon men's estates. And then these freehold tenants were compelled to beg for permission to remain as labourers or slaves on the very property which they had held as masters; or they became wanderers and outcasts, searching for some daily new and wretched resting place in the fastnesses of the woods and marshes.

It was on the 27th of Sept. 1066, that William embarked on board his fleet at St. Valery on the Somme in France, and spread his sails with a fair wind for England. His fleet was composed of 400 vessels, his army of 60,000 men. They were adventurers from all parts of Western Europe, thirsting for plunder, and the blood of the heretical English. The Pope had blessed a banner which streamed like some bright yet disastrous meteor from the leading ship. This flag, with a Papal bull, authorizing William

* In bello hastingensi, et ht. 1 Car. tra ei, dimid.—*Doomsday Dagaworda Stow H.*

* *Bordarii et servi.—Doomsday.*

A POPISH WAR.

to take possession of our throne, and bring us into subjection to the Romish religion in its worst and bitterest form, had created a religious enthusiasm in favour of the undertaking in the Popish states. The English bishops and church had refused to pay Peter's-pence, and had protested against the claim of universal Bishop and Sovereign Lord maintained by Alexander the Pope at Rome. Hence originated the consecration of the whole fleet, army, and undertaking by the Romish church, and William's promise (which he afterwards only half kept) to subject his crown and our church to the Roman Catholic religion.*

Soldiers of fortune flocked to his standard from all places in France. One man hoped to get a Saxon lady for his wife, since the fame of our females' beauty was spread amongst many kingdoms. Another longed only for money and plunder. A third bargained with Duke William for some Englishman's land whom he was to slay. Every fierce and lawless passion of the heart was enlisted in his cause, whilst all considered themselves as consecrated under the especial holiness of the Pope, to a religious war, by which the welfare of Christianity itself would be sustained. In England, on the other hand, political divisions, and a great coldness for Harold's title, were universally diffused amongst the people.

The shores of Sussex were seen by this splendid host on the 28th of September, 1066, and on the same day the forces were landed in Pevensey-bay, near Hastings. Harold † having been compelled to march with all his army to the North, had three days before under the walls of York defeated a large army of Norwegian Danes, who also hoped to secure the disputed succession for their king. Wounded and exhausted with his victory he was roused by the tidings of this more dangerous foe. His fleet had not discovered the enemy; but by forced marches he was able in three days to encamp

* *Thierry's Norm. Cong.* book 3.

† Harold had large possessions in Suffolk. From various incidental notices in Doomsday-book, I have come to the conclusion that his partisans in the Hundred were numerous. Harleston, owes its name either to him or one of the same name—being *Harold's town*.

HAROLD'S FORCES.

at Hastings with fifteen thousand men, and in his passage from the North he dispatched messengers to all parts for the militia or general levy. Roused by the landing of such an army of enemies, the English began to muster in every Hundred, and in a few days 100,000 men would have joined the Saxon king. Vexed however by the ravages of the Normans on the country people, and naturally too impetuous, he determined to attack the invading army with this handful of brave men, who had already fought and gained one pitch-battle, and were fatigued by their long march. *Bremē*, of Dagworth, had been with him in the North. No new levies from such distant parts as our Hundred could have yet arrived. Harold had land in Suffolk of his own, for a clergyman in deacon's orders from his property, named Edric, was killed in the battle.* With fifteen thousand warriors, opposed to sixty thousand of the best soldiers in Europe, the king determined rashly to fight for his crown, whereas a little delay would have caused the assemblage of such an army as to have driven the Frenchmen into the Channel.

Before the battle, an offer was made to the Saxon to submit his claim on the crown to the Pope, which he indignantly refused. William called him perjured liar, because he had sworn on holy relics to assist him in obtaining the kingdom, and now opposed him in arms. His little army were then addressed, and threatened with excommunication by the Pope. On this "the Englishmen looked at each other," and felt that it had been cruelly made a religious war. They refused to submit to William. They unwisely determined not to wait for more levies or retreat upon London. They seized their heavy battle-axes, and girded on their swords for the encounter. And notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers to the Normans, for the whole day until dark at night they fought with such invincible courage, that had not a Norman arrow pierced the eye and brain of Harold, the victory, in human calculation, would have been gained by the Anglian warriors. When he fell, the revolution was complete, the throne vacant, and all further contest useless. The army therefore broke up, and

* *Domesday* 2, 449.

THE GREAT BATTLE.

the small remnant of this brave band retired to shelter themselves as they best could in forests and wild places, spreading the tidings of the success of this new monarch amongst the people, which was followed after some years of disorder by the submission of the whole nation to William, as the rightful heir to the throne. The men from this Hundred and Suffolk then marching to join the brave freedman of Dagworth, and others who were slain at Hastings, returned to their homes, and submitted to this sudden change in the government and throne.

The effects of this revolution introduced a host of needy and cruel adventurers into the kingdom. They seized on every man's land who had been at Hastings, or was hastening thither, and as each Hundred in our county had contributed by her best and bravest blood, all suffered spoliation. From Doomsday we can perceive its ravages in our neighbourhood. Every parish in the Hundred was confiscated, and granted to some Norman baron. Thorney or Stowmarket had been in the possession of Edward, and then of Harold. It reverted to William, and under him Roger Bigot, H de Montfort, and a long list of Norman lords obtained possession of the manors and parishes, who imposed new fines and aids upon all the inhabitants. The English clergy deplore the change in the most desponding strains, and write the history of this great revolution in church and state with their tears. "*Vox tibi est, Anglia!*" is a common exclamation in their melancholy pages.*

* The rule by which the confiscation proceeded was—1, that the families of all who had been killed at the great battle, should be deprived of house, home, goods, land, and every thing they possessed, and their children were declared dispossessed of their inheritance for ever. 2, those who had survived the encounter, were turned out of their property, but allowed to remain in the parishes, and live as they could. 3, those who had obeyed the patriotic call, and were hastening to join the mighty host of one hundred thousand men that would have assembled in a few days if Harold had waited, were allowed to live in possession of some of their land, but were marked and watched, oppressed and spoiled, insulted and persecuted, by the Normans, into whose hands the manors had fallen.—*Thierry's Norman Conq.*

I have purposely avoided in this historical sketch any reference to the numerous engagements and partial risings which took place for several years in different parts of the kingdom by the people against their oppressors. If

ITS DISASTROUS EFFECTS.

All these evils arose from a disputed succession to the crown, followed by an invasion. They first divided the nation into parties, which is always the cause of national weakness and dishonour, when the object for which they dispute is great; and the latter brought certain ruin upon the defeated claimant and his followers, with oppression and injustice upon the whole people.

The depositions of those English Bishops and Clergy who encouraged resistance against William were very numerous. Whilst the Normans promoted to their places were so hostile and barbarous, as in many cases to break in pieces the tombs of their predecessors, and of those English saints whose memories were venerated by the people.* Every thing that bigotry and pride could suggest, to erase from their recollections the remembrance of the ancient liberties of the church was attempted; and every design was introduced with one object, and that was the subjection of the whole of the clergy and church to the foreign and unlawful power of Rome. Eghelmar, bishop of our district and East Anglia, whose episcopal seat was at Hoxne,† found himself a banished and degraded man. He, and the Archbishop Stigand, an East Anglian, were imprisoned in different monasteries for life. The successor to Eghelmar removed the Bishop's residence to Norwich, for the Norman prelates would not rest contented to remain in the small towns, and on the same familiar terms with their people and clergy as the ancient English had done. Another innovation more important followed upon the ancient institutions of the Saxon Church. In those centuries which preceded the conquest, the clergy on a vacancy in the diocese met, and recommended one of their number to the king for his approbation and admission into the estates and property of the Bishopric. This was an apos-

William and his Normans had acted with common humanity, the whole nation would have remained at peace; but this was not their policy. An ancient historian says of some parts of the country which had risen up in rebellion as it was termed by William, and of the cruelties perpetrated by his soldiers,—*Cum id dictu sciamus difficile, et ob nimiam crudelitatem fortasse incredibile.—Historia Etemensis. Ante. Scrip. Gale. 3.*

* *Thierry*, b. 5.

† *Doomsday*.

PARTIAL RISINGS.

tolic and scriptural institution, venerable from its antiquity, spiritual in its character, adapted to the circumstances, and a part of the constitution of every national church. But the Romish religion corrupted this like many other vital parts of Christianity, and assisting William, established here as well as in other countries the simple nomination of the Bishop by the crown, and his confirmation by the Pope, without reference to either clergy or people. It was a master-stroke of policy in William, it was a deadly blow at the liberties of our church. It still remains, though modified and cleansed from the pollution of the hand of Rome, as a thing which is not Saxo-British, but Norman, and of Foreign importation, and at variance with ecclesiastical antiquity.

The people goaded by these oppressions, at length

PARTIAL RISINGS.

were so unanimously in resistance against them, that William was alarmed, and in a great assembly held at St. Albans, 1071, swore solemnly on relics brought for that purpose, to maintain the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom. To ascertain these, twelve men were elected and sent by each county in the kingdom, who met at Westminster, where they presented the institutions and laws of their ancestors, which were then inscribed in a book for the purpose of reference and record. Norman heralds then went round, when in every village and town in our county, as well as in the kingdom, they proclaimed by sound of horn, William's determination to observe *the common law* (as we now term these ancient institutions) of the land, or the laws of Edward the Confessor and his ancestors.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORY OF DOOMSDAY-BOOK, A.D. 1086, AND ITS CONTENTS.

HUNDRED OF STOW.

WE are now approaching a period in which some minute and accurate local information may be obtained of the good town of Stow and its Hundred, from one of the most venerable documents of our country. At this portion of its history we open Doomsday-book, and find the Hundred of Stow in Suffolk, with all its now existing parishes and hamlets. As this ancient survey of the kingdom made no new arrangements of the territory, but was merely a register of what had previously existed, this Hundred and its market (Stow Mercatus) formed one of those old divisions which Alfred found or formed himself, and placed on record in his times. The meaning of the Saxon word *Stow*, is *the place*.*

* See chap. 7, page 26, note.

HUNDRED OF STOW.

pied the central point of the county, it possessed local advantages from the earliest times for county meetings, which in those days were of great political and even of vital importance to the common weal of the whole country, and thus it has been *the place* (or Stow) of assemblage, in which our British and Saxon forefathers assembled to debate on questions of peace and war. From this ancient custom arose the name of the Hundred comprising the surrounding parishes, and from the existence of one market only in the Hundred, the derivation of the name STOWMARKET, is quite easy.

In addition to this derivation of the name from these county meetings, some of which are still happily continued, the connection of the parish church with the Hundred must not be forgotten. The

FOUNDING CHURCHES.

Church under the Roman government followed the course of the public or Roman highways. One of these great roads running from Colchester to Haughley naturally led the missionaries into this district. The Hundred, or Stowe of the county meeting, even in those times would not be neglected by the early missionaries. For as all nations had associated their political meetings with religion, so the old Britons always connected worship in their temples and an assemblage of their warriors or wise men together. A Druidical forest of oaks probably covered the whole place where the Town and Haughley now stand, and had been consecrated by the human sacrifices of the Druids to the solemn purposes of their meetings, until destroyed by the Romans whose highway was brought into its sacred inclosure.

The early Christians always preferred selecting such places for their churches. They placed the foundations of their simple buildings upon the ruins, or beneath the shelter of those sacred groves. By this policy they still attached the inhabitants to the local associations of the place, and they moreover daily appealed by such a church to the superior truth of Christianity, whose victory over the false worship of the Druids was thus undeniably proved. *The Church of Stow* is mentioned several times in Doomsday-book, as we shall see immediately, and as it seems to have been considered a sort of mother church in the Hundred, our supposition of its then standing in the place where Druidical worship had of old been offered up, is a rational probability.

The early British church was compelled, as we have observed, to take refuge in Wales, when the Saxons ravaged and obtained possession of England. Their force and settlements were especially directed to East Anglia. Their Pagan outrages destroyed all vestiges of Christian worship. But early association and habit still tied them, in connection with the population they had reduced to slavery, to the most ancient and central places where former churches or meetings had been held. The early missionaries to these Saxon tribes made East Anglia familiar with their names and ministrations. Nor was it long before a Christian church arose again in Stowmarket, as an

A MOTHER CHURCH.

immortal witness to the truth and eternal love of the Gospel for man. Hence the record in Doomsday-book of its two churches, both well endowed and possessing tenants on their lands, until deprived of their rights by one of the Norman barons.

The daily services in a large or mother church, (*mater ecclesia*), always required the residence of one or more priests or Presbyters. The people brought thither to their private devotions and for confession, made their offerings, and money was collected and spent in the surrounding habitations. Dealers in, and retailers of such commodities, and of such necessities as man in every age wants, were attracted by the sale of them, which thus attended the administration of religious consolations and instruction to ignorant or enquiring consciences. It was in this manner that Cambridge arose from the teaching of three monks who were collecting money for the erection of a vast abbey at Croyland, when this insignificant monkish school became in after-times a venerated seat of learning. And thus many of our towns and cities were the offspring of churches to which an episcopal Christian ministry had attached itself.*

The Norman conquest was productive of an extraordinary revolution in the condition of the inhabitants, and in the whole property of the kingdom. To ensure a more perfect taxation of the lands distributed amongst the nobles, king William determined on a general survey of the nation. The first object in making Doomsday-book was to enrich himself. But a higher principle of political foresight mingled insensibly with the work as it proceeded. The persons employed in all its details were the clergy. They alone possessed sufficient learning for such a survey in those times. And both to them, and to William, the idea of a comprehensive plan for the improvement of the whole country suggested itself. The wealth, the capabilities, the extent of territory, and the number of inhabitants; the political power of the crown; the ecclesiastical influence of the church; the proportion between the Normans and Saxon-British; the power of the nobles as counterbalancing the

* *Collier Hist. of the Church*, 1. fol.

FORMATION OF DOOMSDAY.

power of the king; the power of the kingdom abroad and its possible improvement at home, were all objects which this great Survey effected. At a glance, and by turning a few pages of parchment, any enterprise could be estimated. Calculations might then be made upon the exact resources of the dominions of king William in men and money, in arms and subjects. And if the idea of an extensive empire had ever entered the mind of the Conqueror, no more effectual step could have been taken in preparing to carry out the thought, than in thus subjecting the power required for its attainment to a rigid calculation. With what self-composure must William have laid his hand upon *Doomsday-book*, when he reflected, that there within his grasp lay the power and wealth of a mighty kingdom and noble people. By this list of Parishes, Hundreds, and Counties, he could suppress any rising tokens of insubordination. And by it he could raise the forces for any distant undertaking, without so weakening his kingdom as to diminish its prosperity. This great work formed a new era in political science. And simple as the idea is to us from our constant familiarity with such surveys, it is the conception of a master-mind.

The chief commissioners appointed for this work were Henry de Ferrieres, Walter Giffard, Adam, brother of Eudes the seneschal, and Remi Bishop of Lincoln. These commissioners went through all the counties, and in each principal place, or central situation, they held a council of enquiry. Before them was summoned the earl of each shire, or shire reve; the Hundred reve, or chief magistrate in each Hundred, and its court. They examined into the quantity of land, the tenures, the manorial owners, the freeholders, the ploughs, the arable, the animals, the slaves, the value in taxation or land-tax, the wood, the churches, the productions of each parish in the Hundred, and of each Hundred in the County. This was most effectively done in East Anglia, or the three counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex. Agriculture was here much further advanced than in other parts of the kingdom. The farms were better, doubtless because the farmers were wealthier, freer, and shall I not say more intelligent? "The produc-

THE COMMISSIONERS.

tions of the land are more numerous, the stock is larger, the whole population is richer and more comfortably circumstanced in this Hundred and Suffolk in the years 1066 and 1086, than in any of the Midland or Western counties."^a

To these returns thus made on the spot, and collected by sub-commissioners, who sent their returns in (I think) to the central court, the chief men of each Hundred and County were obliged to swear that they believed them true.^f The local returns thus collected were sent to Winchester, and there recopied and collected into two volumes. But from the disjointed manner in which the different parishes and Hundreds are placed, although a method is observed in arranging them under each great baron or the king, I am disposed to think that they are entered still in the great book, as they were brought in by the sub-commissioners from each parish. The chief commissioner may have presided in this County at Thorney, or what is now Stow. This was the most convenient, as well as the best known place for any county assemblage in Suffolk. And therefore (perhaps) we find that the survey in *Doomsday* begins with Tornay and the Market of Stow, or Stow-market. From hence, the sub-commissioners went out, and as they sent in their returns, they were entered or dispatched to Winchester. The book was termed in common conversation *Domesday-book*, because it spared or omitted no man or parish, and like the book at the day of doom or judgment inspected every one's concerns and business. This great business was agriculture, and in our Hundred was confined to raising from the land the greatest quantity of that produce which a kind and gracious God has placed within man's capabilities. Commerce and Farming were the two great employments of the country then, and have been the sources of our national wealth at all

^a Quot jugata et virgata terrae, quidque uni militi sufficere posset. Fecitque inquirere de urbibus et villis et viculis ad quid in solidum ascenderent; inquisivit etiam quot animalia possent sufficere ad unius hidae culturam—et quot milites essent in unquaque comitatu.—*Budborne Hist. Major Winton. Anglia Sacra*. i, 257.

^f Omnes Franco et Anglia de hundredo juraverunt.—*Thierry*, i.—et *Domesday* passim.

DOOMSDAY SURVEY.

times. The one was carried on by the lords, squires, farmers, and labourers; the other was conducted by the burgesses and inhabitants of our different towns.*

* *Vocatus Domysday—quia nulli parcit, sicut nec mag-nus dies judicii.*—*Ruddhorne Hist. Major Winton. Anglia Sacra.* i. 257. This survey included every thing of value to the king or kingdom. Ingulph, p. 516, says, they omitted *nec lacum, nec locum.* Some historians have supposed that churches were only mentioned casually. The survey in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk quite overturns this opinion. They have thought thus, because they did not find churches in their own counties, where they hoped to discover them. But in these cases (War-

DOOMSDAY SURVEY.

wicksire e. g.) the churches had been either burned, because of wood, or were not then erected. I more than suspect, that nearly all the churches in Suffolk at this period had their walls composed of stone. The foundations of the second church in the churchyard at Thorné or Stowmarket, we sometimes dig up in making graves in the South corner. And these are rough flints bedded in lime. I have a large piece of them.

Remi of Lincoln is the Remi of Fescamp to whom William had promised a Bishoprick before the battle of Hastings, because he contributed a ship and twenty men at arms.—*v. Will. Malmesbury. Illum (pontificatum) a Wil-lemo post regis factio, emerat (Bedmin. Hist.)* He was afterwards cited to Rome for having paid money for his bishoprick, by Hildebrand. But the same thing which caused his accusation became the means of his acquittal. Gold could buy anything at Rome.—*Thierry c. 5.*

CHAPTER X.

THORNEY (OR STOW) MARKET, IN DOOMSDAY-BOOK.

NAMES OF PARISHES.

THE mass of information in the pages of Doomsday-book is extraordinary, most interesting, and curious. I have made some notes upon Suffolk generally and have inserted them in a distinct chapter. From these the general reader may glean some interesting information. A small extract in the Latin original is here added as a specimen of the manner in which they then officially wrote. But the peculiar marks for contractions cannot be communicated in common type.*

The survey in Suffolk begins with Stowmarket or Tornæia, as it was then called, and pronounced Thorney.† In Suffolk nearly all the places now spelt with *th* are in the book spelt with *t*—thus Thorné is Torné, and Thorpe, Torpe, and Thetford, Tetford or Tetfort, &c.

* The original language of Doomsday-book is a Latin, contracted, and in manuscript not easy to read. It has been published by the Government with types cast for the purpose. A copy of this great work was sent to each county, and presented to the then High Sheriff. That which I have used is the Suffolk copy presented to the late J. Grigby, Esq. of Drinkstone Park, and obligingly lent to me by Mrs. Grigby.

† *Svdvle, 281, v. 2.*

NAMES OF PARISHES.

The names of the great majority of the Suffolk parishes remain unchanged to this day, having only received some slight alteration in spelling and pronunciation. In some however, the original parish has become a hamlet without a church; in others, several hamlets (or Doomsday parishes) are united, the churches have been suffered to go to decay, or have been pulled down, and the whole form now but one united benefice. In other cases the name of the Doomsday parish has been completely lost, and the parish has obtained altogether a new name. The Hundred in which these are found defines however their situation in the county.* It requires a local acquaintance with the county, and a reference to old maps to ascertain in these cases the original parishes, whose names are now only to be discovered in some insignificant hamlets and villages. In Stow Hundred, Chilton, Vltun, and Thorney, now constitute Stowmarket and Stowupland. Chilton and Thorney remain as Hamlets. Rhoda and Ultun are lost in the names of Gipping and Upland. There is no distinction in Doomsday between (the now) Great and Little

* See Appendix No 1.—Table of parishes and churches.

DOOMSDAY-BOOK.

Finborough, for then the parish was undivided. Three Greetings now exist, whereas then two only in separate Hundreds are mentioned. Eacefella and Torstun, are now only known as landed divisions in East Field and Totshill, which are neither hamlets nor parishes. Dagworth once a parish is now a ham-

DOOMSDAY-BOOK.

let to Old Newton. And Newton would seem from other documents in later times to have been a vicarage under St. Osythe, the rectors of Stowmarket.*

* See chap. on St. Osythe.

I.

SVDFVLC.

[281 b.]

TERRA REGIS DE REGIONE QUA' Roger' bigot' seruat. In Sudfulc.
 Hundret de STOV. TORNAI* ten& Rex Will'm qd' tenuit rex. E. p' uno
 manerio & p' v' car' træ. Se'p' XXX.VI. uill'. & XVIII. bord'. Tn'c. vi. seruos.
 p'. i. m'. null'. tc' et postea. I. car' i' dn'io. m'. nulla. s; in te'pre' Regis. e' W. portera' e'e' due
 cu' illa. Tn'c et p'. XLV car' hou'. m'. XXX. T'c silua XXX. porc'. m'. sex. T'c XIII.
 acr' p'ti. p' et m' XII. Tn'c. II. mol'. p' et m' I. Ibi e' etia' unu' mercatu'. Eccl' tp'r. R. E.
 de i. car' træ. libe'. sed hugo de monte forti'. ht' de hac. carrucata. XX.III. ac'r.
 & reuocat ad quanda' capella'. qua'. IIII. frs. lib'i ho'es hugonis c'struxert in p'pa'.
 t'ra juxta cimiteriu' matrix eccl'æ. et fuert' manentes de parrochia matrix eccl'æ. q'
 n' pot' at cap'e tota' parrochia'. H' mat' eccl'a medietate' sepulture om'i te'p'e. et quarta'
 parte' aliaru' elemosinaru' q' fiebant. habuit p' optione'. & h' capella si fuit dedi
 cata ul'n'. hund'. nescit. In hac carrucata' eccl'æ fuer' v. bord'. et i. uill' sep'. II. car'.
 In hoc manerio fuer' t'pr' R. E. XL. soc'. cu' om'i c'suetudine p'q' Rog' recep'. fuer' om's.
 ablati. exceptis. VII. se'p' habuer' hi. LVIII. acr'. et dim' car'. s' te'p'e R. E. I. car'. int'
 q'tuor. Et. p'posit' huj' man' ten& XXVI. acr' in soc' reg' te'p'e R. E. hoc man' cu' in
 tegraru' fuit ual xv. lib'. adnum' q'do Roger' recep'. XXXV. lib'. m' XL. blanc'. TORNEI
 ht'. I. leug' in longo. et I. i' lato. & reddit de gelto xv. d'. Quicu'q' ibi teneat.
 De hoc man' ht' hugo de moute forti. XX. soc'. & Roth't. comes. VI. Rog' de otburuilla
 . III. Frodro ht'. II. Roger' pictau'. III. +

p. 290. *Terre Robti Comitis de Moritania.* STOV. H.
 CAMBAS ten' ulnoth lib' ho' sub Rege E. p'. ii.
 car' træ' &c.

290] ANUHUS ten' Withmer' sub R. E. p. i. car'
 træ. tc' iii. bor. &c.

302] *Tre Comitis Eustachii.* STOV. H.
 In BUKESSALA ten' i'gelric' i. car' et dim' t'ræ.

303] *Tre. Robberti Malet.* In SVTFVLC. H. De STOV.
 CRATINGA tenet Roth't. de glanuill' de Roth't.
 Malet. qua' tenuit Le Win' lib' ho' Edrici antece's
 Rob'ti Malet. &c.

Tre. R. Pictauiensis.

350] STOV H. BUCKESHALA ten' Leswin'
 croc. t. r. e. ii. car' t'ræ. &c.

In NEWETUNA ii. lib'i ho'es alsi t. r. e. &c.

In TORNEI i. lib' ho' Reg' E. &c. et Normann'
 accep' de hoc man' sine libat'. &c.

In GRATINGA vii lib'i ho'es. &c.

In TORNEI xxiiii ac. et i. bor. et p'tinent i' halla
 STANHA'.

360] *Tra. Sci. Edmuudi.** STOV H.
 In WEDERDENA xx. lib'i ho'es S'. E. t. r. e. ii.
 car' træ. Radulfus tenet dim' car'. &c.

In HEROLUESTUNA ii. lib'i. ho'es Sc'i. E. T'.
 R. E. de i. car' t'ræ et xx ac's m'o' Aelons de abbate
 Petrus ten et xx ac' &c.

In ANHUS i. lib' ho' Sc'i. E. dim' car' træ et iii.
 bord. Se'p. i. c'. et iii. ac' p'ti.

* Bury.

* Thorné, now Stowmarket.

† This extract is taken from the printed copy of Doomsday-book, and is exact in form and arrangement, with the exception of the contractions, which are here represented by apostrophes.

DOOMSDAY-BOOK.

373] *Trae Baiocensis Epi.*

In CRATINGA ten' Aluric' fili. brune, &c.
In NEWETONA ten' ii. lib'i. ho'es Alsi &c.
In RODEHA' i. lib'h'o. saxonis. &c.

382] Stohu H. In CILTUNA ten' Sc'a Aldreda
ii. soc' de xxxvi. ac'. sed n' pot' vend'e.403] *Terra Rogeri de Oburvilla.* Sto. Hund.
In FINEB'GA ten' Leuesuna &c. In ead. vi. soc'
p'tinentes in TORNEI manerio regis. Ed. &c.*Terra Ricardi Felic Comitis. Gisleberti.*392] Stohv. Hund. In SELLANDA ten' Sind'.
antec. Ri. xxiii. ac' et iiiii. bord. &c.408] *Tre. Hugonis de Monteforti.* Stov. H.
HAGALA ten' Gutmundus sub. R. E. p'manerio
viii. car' traë. &c.In DAGA WORDA ten' hugo in dn'io. vii. lib'os
hornnies qua' ten'uit Gutnundus, &c.In DAGA WARDA vi. soc' p'tinentes. In
TORNEI man' reg'.

In WATDENA xvii. lib'i ho'es Gut mundi, &c.

In ERUESTUNA x lib'i ho'es Gut mundi, &c.
(and called TORSTUNA)

In TORPE xvi. lib'i ho'es &c.

In VLTUNA iii. lib'i ho'es ei'd Gudmund. &c.

In CILTUNA et in TORSTUNA tenet hugo, &c.

409] In TORNEIA ten' Rog' de Candos i.
car' traë. de hugone, &c.*Tra. Gosfridi de Magna Villa.*410] Stohu H. In CRATINGA ten' Witgarus
lib' homo abb'is de eli. &c.*Terra Hunfridi Filii Albibi.*435] Stov. H. In ANEHUS x lib'i ho'es Ketelli
In ANUHUS ten' Ketel tegh. &c.

426] In WELEDANA. In WATDENA.

439] In ESCEFELLA iacet i. bord' &c.

Terra Herwie Bituricens. Stov. H.In TORNEI tenet Euen de Erueo i car' traë.
qua' tenuit brictic' blac. sub. Witgaro. &c.388] BOSEMARA. H'. CRATINGAS ten' Aluricus
lib' homo. i. car' terræ et dim'. p' man'. semp. iiiii. null'.398] In GRATINGIS. Hunfridus ten' de Will'-
mo. i. lib' h'm' xxxviii ac. semp' i. car'. &c.*

* The names of the parishes in this extract, as well as the few words in each paragraph, will show how the parishes and their contents are entered in the survey, with the occasional difference in their spelling and pronunciation by the different Commissioners.

THORNEY MANOR.

SVDFVLC, 281, b.

"THE KING'S LAND, (royal manor) of the district which RogerBigot holds in Suffolk, in the Hundred of Stow. King William holds the manor of Thorney (Tornai) which formerly king Edward held. One manor and afterwards five carucata (or plough lands of 500 acres.) There were always 36 villains (labourers) and 18 bordarii, (cottageholders.) Then six servi (slaves) afterwards one, now none. Both then and now there was one plough in the manor, now none, but in the time of king Edward and also of William, there may have been two with it. Then and afterwards there were 45 men ploughs, and now 19. Woods which could feed 90 swine, but now sufficient for 6. Then 14 acres of meadow, now only 12. Then two mills existed, now only one. There also is one MARKET."

In this extract Tornai is Thorné and its manor. It is written and was pronounced Tor, and not Thor, by the Norman surveyors. The caruca is a plough, which may have had wheels, and have been of great size, drawn by oxen, and employed to prepare the ground for the men ploughs. The carucate is a quantity of land varying in different counties from 100 to 150 acres. I have in the following table estimated it as equal in amount to 100 acres.

The *men ploughs* sound like strange things to us, but were probably light ploughs actually drawn or pushed forward by the villains, or servi, who were little better than slaves, and sold and bought with the land from which they could not remove. The tradition in Suffolk has been that men ploughs were formerly employed. Four men are considered equal to half a horse or ox. And if one man plough be taken to be equal in work to one ox, then each man plough employed at least eight men. These men ploughs are almost peculiar to the Eastern counties in the survey. The population was greater and the agriculture in a higher condition than in other parts of the kingdom. A large proportion of the population, and all whom we now term labourers were then villains, servi, or bordarii; and in various degrees strictly speaking slaves, or persons who in themselves and families had no freedom. They could not then depart from their wretched homes without be-

ENGLISH SLAVERY.

ing vagabonds and homeless wanderers, whom every holder of land could seize and imprison at his pleasure; and they had an existence which depended solely on the will of their master. Their freedom was with great difficulty procured. Their goods and children, their wives and wages were alike in the power of their owners. Nor was anything which they possessed their own. To whom then do the labourers now owe their perfect freedom, and the full enjoyment of their liberties as Englishmen? Who assisted, who persevered in obtaining, who urged with untiring voice and arm their general deliverance from this grievous yoke of servitude? History replies to the question with one voice—*It was the Church.* Christianity, as established in our country, by means of her parochial clergy and the monasteries, succeeded at last in peacefully breaking and for ever burying the chains of the English peasantry beneath her churches. She obtained freedom for the labourers. The clergy refused to receive slaves as the payment for penances or as offerings if attached to land. And if offered, they were immediately freed, or the penitent was urged to offer his labourers to God for this noble purpose.*

By exhortations which described the love of God, by warnings which showed the punishment of oppressors, by eloquent appeals from the gospel, the clergy unceasingly raised their voices against this unchristian state of things, until at length the proprietors throughout England, after many years of incessant exertion, had all consented to emancipate their labourers, and the name of villain, *servus*, or slave, was heard no more in our land. The personal freedom of every man in the country has been obtained by the influence of Christianity acting through the Established Church upon the proprietors of the soil. Although the church in the year 1086 was nominally a member of Rome, yet the English branch of the Roman Catholic faith had been peculiarly blessed by strong minds and a more constant preservation of pure doctrines than the continental churches. This was the result of Saxon times, and old British influences. It was not in total subjection to Rome

THE MARKET OF STOW HUNDRED.

but for a short time, and resisted many of her most glaring impieties. It evidenced its holy love to man in this Christian-like warfare against the selfishness of man. To the parish church does the labourer and mechanic owe his present freedom; and when he can call his home his castle, he will do well to remember that the sentinel which watched over the birth of his freedom and fought his battles, is the old parish church, beneath whose walls those voices have long reposed in silent dust, to whose strong gospel appeals he is indebted for his freedom in person, family, and goods.

As there is only one market mentioned in the whole Hundred, and this is attached to Thorney, it existed in the present town, and was held most probably in Stowupland street, or immediately around the church. And from this term the present name of the town is most plainly derived—viz. STOCK MERCATUS; the market of the Stow Hundred; or STOWMARKET.*

The church in king Edward's time (A.D. 1086) was free of one carucate. (It had 100 acres of land which paid no taxes.) But of this land Hugh de Monteforti holds 23 acres, and he restores them (revocat) to a certain chapel, which four brothers, freedmen of Hugh, built in this land near the

* 1. The general assembly of the great thegns or lords of land was the Wittena Gemot, (wisemen—assembly) or present parliament, modified of course by the times, sitting together in one assemblage. 2. Shire gemots were held. And by a law of Canute following old customs, two county gemots were to be held every year. These would then have met at Stow or Thorna, as it was the most convenient, as well as the usual place for assembling. 3. Three burg gemots were to be held every year in burgs, such as Eye, Ipswich, and other places. Ethelstan inflicted punishments on those who would not attend Gemots when summoned. Instances are mentioned of several Hundreds meeting in a gemot together to transact business. And every Hundred had its court, but its Gemot was a special public assembly summoned for a particular occasion. It will therefore be easily perceived that the privilege of the county meeting, or shire gemots having been held at Stowmarket, and still continued, is most ancient. The Reform bill deprived the town of this advantage in the nomination of members for the county. It ought to possess the privilege of a borough. This it once had, nor does the term *Borough of Stowmarket* cease to be applied in ancient documents to the town until about the year 1683. See all the papers in parish chest and book from A.D. 1486, to 1683, when I conjecture in the reign of Charles II. they resigned their charter on the *quo warranto*, and have not applied for it since.—*vide Turner. Ang. Sax. Hist.*

TWO CHURCHES IN STOW.

burying ground (*cimiterium*) of the mother church. (*matris ecclesie.*) And they were (*manentes*) living away from the mother church which could not contain the whole parish. This mother church, has from immemorial right, (*omni tempore,*) the half of the burial fees, and a fourth part of other offerings which may be made at this chapel, (*habuit per exceptionem*) by a special deed of exception. And if this chapel was consecrated no one in the Hundred knows."

This curious account of the two churches in Stow, corresponds with the deeds and old documents in which the living is described as St. Peter and St. Mary in Stow, and with local tradition, which asserts that a small chapel stood near the church-yard at the South corner, where some very deep and massy foundations have been discovered on digging graves. The freedmen who erected it by their pious liberality had done so long before, because no one then living knew if it had been consecrated, and so it enjoyed peculiar privileges. But they are described as De Montefort's freedmen, because their property had been in his manor, and their descendants may have been in the enjoyment of it at the time. Here the practices and nature of our Established Church is clearly seen in some of its distinguishing features. We are presented 800 years since, with the distinct boundaries of parishes—their church rights—their church offerings (or fees)—their endowments—the mother church and its incumbent with chapels of ease—the voluntary aid made by the people who thus built and endowed churches—and the consecration of churches. This last ancient rite was considered so necessary, that the testimony of the court of the Hundred was obtained to ascertain the fact, because some important ecclesiastical privileges belonged to these churches, and not to those which were unconsecrated. The mother church had obtained this privilege by immemorial right and use, and a very high antiquity must therefore be given to *the foundations* of this venerable and beautiful parish church. Suffolk was one of the earliest counties into which Christian missionaries penetrated in early times. This will be seen on turning to the Appendix No. 1, where I have annexed a list of the churches in the County, extract-

ROYAL MANORS

ed from Domesday-book, and mentioned in its pages as then existing, with the quantity of land attached to them. All these were the fruits of Christianity, and both land, tithe, and churches, were built and given by the voluntary piety of the people. Some of these churches were of British origin, and must have existed in the times of the Romans, and though burnt by the Pagan-Saxons or Danes, yet they were again rebuilt by those who became converts. Thus faith becomes immortal, and the gospel cannot perish amid the ruins of a church. It was a principle not to change the site of an ancient church, and religious associations led them to search out the old foundations:

The "terra regis," which begins the account of the survey in Suffolk, and of Thorneis Manor in this extract, is applied only to those lands which belonged to Edward the Confessor, and which then passed to William upon the revolution at the Conquest, or to those which the Conqueror seized. These are royal manors, and had been held for centuries by the kings. As such, *the place or Stow* of meeting for the county, situated in the royal demesne of Thorne was a place of some importance, and its privileges were continued under William. For in any thing which did not immediately effect their possession of the lands of those who had been engaged in the civil war against them, the new king was most anxious to perpetuate the customs of the country, because by them he hoped to retain for his posterity this noble kingdom. In this Hundred, as we shall have occasion to observe, the great Saxon proprietors had been either killed, or had taken some hostile part in the previous revolution, for they were all dispossessed. But their tenants, the smaller freeholders, the clergy, and all the commonalty remain as they were under the reigns of the Saxon kings. Five races of men were then living in the Hundred, and in the rest of Suffolk, and each of them may be recognized in the names introduced into the survey. 1st. We have some ancient British names, belonging to families who were the descendants of the conquered Britons, and with whom the conquerors became united. 2ndly. Some names of Roman origin, but these are scattered

THE INHABITANTS.

in but a small number of places, and are probably the remains of that noble people which in a few families chose to continue their fortunes with the Britons, when the legions were finally withdrawn in the fifth century. 3rdly. We have the largest number of Saxon names, whose rise is found in that vast tide of emigration which brought such hosts of Angles or Saxons from Germany into Britain. 4thly. We have many names of Danish sound and origin, because in these parts, as we have remarked in Chap. 6, large bodies of Danish soldiers and marauders were settled by treaty with Alfred. And lastly, we find the fifth infusion of Norman blood and names, which has thus completed the intermixture of races, out of which Divine wisdom had designed to form that noble English nation, whose arms, language, and institutions, are destined to produce effects in the world which can never be effaced until the day of doom shall be revealed.*

* I have taken a very few names at random from the Suffolk parishes. These will give the reader some idea of their variety and different sounds, as well as their proportions.

<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Saxon</i>	<i>Saxon</i>	<i>Danish</i>	<i>Norman</i>
Beso	Ordric	Godman	Galt	Norman
Albicus	Godric	Goduin	Lestan	Councess of
Botius	Leuric	Gosfrid	Lesquen	Albemarle
Spelta	Gurt	Coleman	Scapi	Grentemes-
Turbinus	Stannart	Brunar	Grimm	nil
Altius	Edric	Garnar	Otnod	Hervey
	Spanoc	Warnar	Starker	DeMontefort
	Ædwold	Blakeman	Turstin	&c. &c.
<i>British?</i>	Wicolf	Glademan	Barnard	
Vlumur	Siric	Pinel	Mannig	
Vluiet	Warenger	Flint	Teri	
Aluret	Algur	Girard	Olf	
Aluwin	Aluric	Suiard	Hainfrid	
Brictmar	Brictric	Vlward	Alfnod	
Trumlin	Clarebold	Gifard	Grimolf	
Mildebele-fol	Ætgar	Ketel	Kerine	
Ailmar	Starline	Brithwold	Offa	
Anschetill	Weinhou	Brithmarus	Haret	
Stanmar	Burric	Brictuoit	Hardekin	
Acolf	Felger	Huthtrud	Suorting	
Aluort	Brictwold	Alestam	Harduin	
Inichel	Stori	Stigand		
Achi				
Brutge				
Vlwin				
R. Briton				
Williams				

I give an extract to show the manner in which the names are often introduced into Doomsday, and remark that the

THE INHABITANTS.

In the four Eastern counties this intermixture of five races exists in its integrity, but is not so perfect elsewhere. Although in every part of England, some one or more of these races may be found, and everywhere for a hundred years a greater commixture of the different bloods has been prevailing. And in another hundred years rail-roads will have effected a more perfect union.

I conclude this chapter with the translation of the passages which still describe Tornai, Tornei, or Torneia, and its various parcels of land.

"In the carucate (or plough land) belonging to the church there were 5 bordarii (or cottagers) and 1 villain (or labourer); always 2 ploughs. In this manor there were in king Edward's time 40 socmanni (or farmers) with all their common rights; after Roger received it they were all removed except 7. And these 7 have 58 acres, with half a plough; but in king Edward's time there was a plough to four."

"The Bailiff of this manor holds 26 acres in socage of the king in Edward's time. This manor when undivided produced 15 pounds (of silver coin or £675 per ann.); when Roger received it, it amounted to 25 pounds, and now to 40 (or £1800).^{*} Torney is one league (3 miles) in length; and one league (3 miles) in breadth, and pays in Danegeld 15 pennies (silver) whoever may hold it. From this manor Hugh de Montfort has 20 socmanni. Count Robert has 6. Roger de Otburuilla 4. Frodo has 2. Roger Pictau 3."

The land of Roger de Pictauicensis.—Sto. H.

"In Torney there was one freeholder of king Edward's, with saca and soca (his customary rights on, and duties to the king), and after William came to the throne, he held the land in the same manner. And a Norman received him from this manor without freedom. Girald then held him. After Girald, Roger Pictau. There were 60 acres. Then one plough, and afterwards half a one. Now one ox. And then it was worth 10 shillings (about £27: 10) now with difficulty it pays 5 shillings (rent to the king or lord of the manor)."[—] 350. b.

origin of numbers of family names in Suffolk may be found in its records. In hoc Hund. ht. Rex xxx libo's ho'es.—H's eor' nos' Aistan, Godric, Goduin, Offa, Rictan, Gadine, Aluric, Estrat Aluric, Touilt, Leuvinus Aluric, Guneguata, Vluric, Tchetel, Godric, Edica, Dirsi, Brictmer, Leueua, Aluric, Normaun, Leuvric, Gaulef, Aluwin, Vluuin, Edric, Sigar.

* 15 multiplied by 3 = 45 multiplied by 15 = £675 in our time. The rule I have adopted is to multiply each pound of silver by £3, which is a low computation for its price. This brings it into our money. But as 15 times more corn, meat, &c. could then be purchased with £1 than we can do now, it must be multiplied by 15 to give a just estimation of the value as it would appear to us now, (see page 28.)

DOOMSDAY EXTRACTS.

Stonham Hall.—Stow H.

"In Tornei there are also 24 acres and one cottager, and they belong to Stonham hall."—*Ibid.*

Land of Roger de Oiturvilla.—Stow H.

"In Fineborga. In the same parish are 6 socmanni belonging to the Tornei manor of king Edward, as tenants, having soc, sac, and summag. They had 65½ acres of arable and one cottager. Three ploughs amongst them all, now one, and three acres of meadow, and he holds them per escangio (a particular kind of military tenure)."

The land of Hugh de Monteforti.—Stow H.

"In Chilton and Totshill (Ciltun et Torstan) Hugo holds as lord of the manor and from their freedom as they say, 16 farmers (socmanni), who the Hundred affirms did belong to the king's manor of Torné, with their customary rights. And they had 100 acres of arable land and 7 cottagers. Then and afterwards 4 ploughs amongst them all, now 3 and 6 acres of meadow. Then* and afterwards it was worth 50 shillings, now 30 shillings. The whole is 2 miles long and 1½ mile broad, and paid Gelt (or tax for the navy) 8 (silver) pennies. And all these were freeholders. And these were freed in soca, so the people of Hugo say. Two remained with 500 acres of land."—408, b.

Land of St. Aldred.—Stow H.

"In Chilton St. Aldred holds 2 farmers with 36 acres, but they cannot sell their interest in the land without leave from the Abbot. And 1 cottager. Then 1 plough, now none, and ½ an acre of meadow. And it is valued at five shillings."—332. (St. Aldred was a Saxon saint, having a monastery and churches dedicated to him. But invisible things were always then spoken of as living verities—faith was sight. This is the life of our church.)

Land of Hugh de Montfort.

"In Eruestan (Totshill) 10 freeholders of Gutnumund the anti-proprietor of Hugo, as tenants only, hold 100 acres of arable by paying soc to the king and county, and 2 cottagers. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs amongst them all. Now scarcely are they able to keep 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was valued at 20 shillings, now 10. A church with 10 acres of land free from taxes. It is 2½ miles in length and 1¼ in breadth, and pays in naval tax (de gelt) 10 pennies, whoever may hold it."

"In Dagworth—6 socmanni belonging to the royal manor of Torné with all their customary rights, and they have amongst them 100 acres of arable land and 4 cottagers. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs, now 2, and 5 acres of meadow. Half a church having 25 acres of free land. Then and afterwards it was valued at 30 shilling, now 20. And Hugh reclaims these 6 farmers from their freedom."—408.

The land of Hugh de Monteforti.—Stow H.

"In Torneia Roger de Candos holds 100 acres of arable land from Hugo, which has been in soca, of the manor of king Edward, but was freed afterwards. This 100 acres Rad. Stalra holds by bond from Vice Count Toli, so the Hundred

* Then (tunc) is king Edward's time A.D. 1066—afterwards (postea) the interval between 1066 and 1086—and now modo the time of the survey, 1086.

DOOMSDAY EXTRACTS.

say they heard, but there are no deeds nor record of freedom forthcoming; and he was in possession of it on the day in which king Edward died. And afterwards Radulf his son held it. 4 labourers (villani) and 3 cottagers (bor-darii) and 2 slaves (servi.) Then 2 ploughs in the lord, now 1. Always 2 men ploughs, and 4 acres of meadow, and 1 mill. Wood for feeding 4 hogs; now 10 hogs and 30 sheep. It was always worth 60 shillings. And in the same 2 freeholders (liberati homines) hold 20 acres. Then and afterwards 1 plough, and now half one. And it is valued at 40 pennies. This is held [huc est de escangio] (by a military service due to the king, or by a fine instead)."—409, b.

The land of Hervey Bituricensis.—Stow H.

"In Torné Euen de Erued holds 100 acres of arable land, which Brietric Blac held under Witgar the anti-proprietor of Rich de Clara, and he could not sell it without his permission. Now Hervey holds it by the king's gift. Then 6 cottagers, and now 3. Then 2 ploughs, afterwards none, and now 1 plough, and 3 acres of meadow. Then 2 men ploughs, afterwards and now none. Then it was valued at 30 shillings, now 47 shillings. It owes service to the king and county."—440, b.

These extracts refer to what is contained within the limits of the parish of Stowmarket and part of Stowupland. The manor of Thorney possessed also land and tenants in some of the neighbouring parishes. From Ultun or up-hill or up-town, being much smaller than its extent now, from the Thorney Green still retaining its name as attached to Thorney, and the extent now corresponding with what it was then,

* The names of some of the freed women, or Saxon-British ladies who are described in Doomsday as proprietors of land, will not be uninteresting. To many of the Suffolk ladies the epithet attached to the owner of Herchedestadum 800 years since, is equally if not more applicable now.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Parishes.</i>	<i>Hundreds.</i>	
Eifet	Stafella	Thedwastre	
Ailth	Simpluiga	Baburga	
Milda	Burgati	Hartesmere	
Minlema	Metles	"	
Tila	Bantham	Sanfert	
Edeua	faira		
Edeva	the	Herchedestadum	
	fair*	"	{ She also owned Guthlums ford-ham or Chel-mondiston.
Lefedra	Oteleia	Carleford	
Listena	"	Bosmere	
Aluet	Haragraua	Tingho	
Alidea	Tudeham	Carleford	
Gadgena	Renlesham	De Lossa	
Alidid	Cratingas	Bosmere	{ She had but half an acre
Godra	Brom	Hertismere	
Ieuia	Framlingham	H. de Losa	{ A place of no importance then

* She is called Edeva Pulchra, the beautiful Edeva, in other counties. She was a lady of vast possessions.

STOWMARKET.

I conclude that Torné manor or parish then embraced the land from the boundary of Finborough to Thorney Green in length, and from the mill on the river to the bounds of Newton and the other parishes in breadth.

The parish or hamlet of Erestuna, or Torstuna, was probably Totshill joining onto Chilton, and these two hamlets as mentioned together in one of the preceding extracts, forming the N. W. boundary of the Royal Manor. Tun in Saxon is town, and dun is hill. Thors-hill is easily corrupted into Tots-hill, and Chiltun, or Chilton, retains its original name. The length and breadth of these two hamlets, as stated in Doomsday, will then correspond with what they are now. Thor's hill is also a name of easy derivation, because it is from thence in coming on the North road you first catch sight of the market of Stow, or Thorna, as it was then called.*

The modern term *Stowmarket* is derived from Doomsday, *Sto Mercatus*. The original name of the town was Stow Torna, or Thorne, the *place of Thor*. This name is Saxon, and of great antiquity. Their God of the heavens, whose palace contained 540 halls, was called *Thor* or *Tor*. He sent forth lightning, directed meteors, swept the sea with tempests, and shook the forests by his storms. He was worshipped in temples with great honour, and to him our Saxon and Danish forefathers sacrificed horses and oxen, and on solemn occasions when going to war, men were slain and burnt. He was a popular divinity, and to him most of the worship was offered in these counties, when the Saxons destroyed for a time the Christian Church of Britain.† From him, and his worship in Stow, I think the name of Torna is derived. *Na* is a dead body, and therefore the derivation of the name is easy, as applied to a great cen-

* For the change of names was most frequent in those times. Thus Peterburgh was formerly called Medeshamsted, and Bury St. Edmund's Beodericworth, and afterwards Eodmunstow. (*Tanner* 304.) The original proprietor of the land where the town is built was one Beoderic, and hence it became Beodericworth, or the seat of Beoderic, which was afterwards changed into the corporate town of St. Edmund, or Edmund's Burg. (*Monasticon*, 302.)
† *Turner's Hist. Anglo Saxon*, 2, chap. 4.—*Henry's England*, 2,—Religion.

THE TOWN.

tral place of sacrifice, where after burning part of the bodies of the oxen and horses on the altar, they feasted on the remainder, drinking out of horns their strong beer or mead, and dancing together for successive days and nights. *Torna* is in English *Tor's bodies*, or sacrifices. The *th* appears to have been sometimes used and sometimes dropped. In the same way Thorpe is called Torpe, and Wetherden Wetderden.

In digging graves in the churchyard, which is large and rises above the surrounding ground, when they are required to be an extra depth of eight or ten feet, very large bones have been found. These are supposed vulgarly to be the bones of our gigantic forefathers, who are thought from such evidences to have been men of vast length and strength of limb. "They are more like the bones of *horses* or *cows* than of men, so large and heavy are they."* But the common difficulty is to reconcile our notions of Christian burial with the graves of horses in a churchyard. If however we go back far enough, as we enter the ground, and get below the accumulations of human bodies, then we come upon the relics of the sacrifices offered to the God Thor, and thus these ancient bones bear out the preceding remarks on the antiquity of religious worship in this place.

Another application of the word is equally appropriate to the local features of the place. Thornea is Thor's water or river, from *Thor* and *ea* water. The name in Doomsday is written in some places *Tornai*, in others *Tornei*, as pronounced *Torney*, and again *Thorneia*. It would therefore stand in Saxon times from the year 500 to 1000, as *Thorna* or *Thorne*, and thus represent Thor's place of sacrifice—or *Thor's river*, the Gipping, on which the town of Stow Mercat of Doomsday now stands.†

The name still remains with but little variation in *Thorné* (or *Thorney*) hall, in *Stowmarket*, a large

* "So people ar'n't half as big now a-days and as strong as they used to be. Mankind gets less and less in every life of man." *Old Sexton*, R. Earthy.

† The name may also be associated if the reader chooses with nothing but trees and water, for like *Thorney* in Cambridgeshire, where a famous monastery stood, it means thus—*Thorny island*.

THE TOWN.

house having an avenue of venerable elm trees, and built where at this period stood the manor house belonging to the king, and occupied by his tenant Roger Bigot, or his bailiff.* And in some of the deeds of

* Now the property of the lady of the manor of Stowmarket, Mrs. Marriott.

THORNEY HALL.

the court even as late as 1657 the court is described as sitting in the town of Thorney,* and in all the papers from 1486 as the hamlet of Thorney.

* 1657 and 1615 in Stowmarket parish chest.

CHAPTER XI.

STOWMARKET AND HUNDRED, IN DOOMSDAY-BOOK CONTINUED.—THE AGRICULTURE AND FARMING IN SUFFOLK IN THE YEAR 1066.

LIST OF PARISHES.

I SHALL first extract a list of the parishes in the Hundred contained in Doomsday, with their names at this day. They will be found to be nearly the same now as they were then. And by making a small allowance for the difficulty which the commissioners had to render these names into the Latin in which they wrote, each parish will appear but slightly

LIST OF PARISHES.

changed, although so many years have alike caused the fierce passions of the men who were then living, and the sufferings of the population to be forgotten. All have passed into that world, where in a few years we ourselves shall have gone, and leave only like them here a name in a single line of time's history.

NAMES OF THE PARISHES IN THE HUNDRED OF STOW, IN 1086 AND 1843.

1086.	1843.	Saxon meaning.	Remarks.
Anuhus—anhus—aneus -	Onehouse - - -	AN—One and Hus—house -	One house only in the parish, and that probably distinguished for size — now Onehouse-hall, the situation picturesque & beautiful
Bukessalla—buresalla -	Buxhall - - -	Bur—bures.—A bower or dwelling and hala—healthy, or sal, the hall, the bower of health, or healthy hall. BUKES-SALLA, the hall of flagons.	Corresponds well with the elevated situation; or if Bures be the name of the chief who took it, then the hall of Bures. Or from its hospitable owner, the last meaning.
Cambas - - - -	Coombs—Combs -	CAMB—a comb or crest, the crests CAMBAS	Corresponds exactly with the parish, which is a series of rising crests of land.
Ciltuna - - - -	Chilton, part of Stow-market	CIL—a name—TUN—a farm, or small village, &c.—Cils-town	A hamlet, now part of Stowmarket
Cratingas—gratingas,* two parishes -	Creeting St. Peter's and Allsaints	GRAT—a name, with the ing for offspring—one of them Grating and Gratingas; so then the 3 parishes will signify the home of the sons of Grat—or CRAT, a wagon, and Ing—a field—thus waggon-fields.	This would be significant of two brother warriors settling each in a parish from Saxony. This is not so probable as the first, as so great an extent of land (2 large parishes) would scarcely have had such a name given to them.

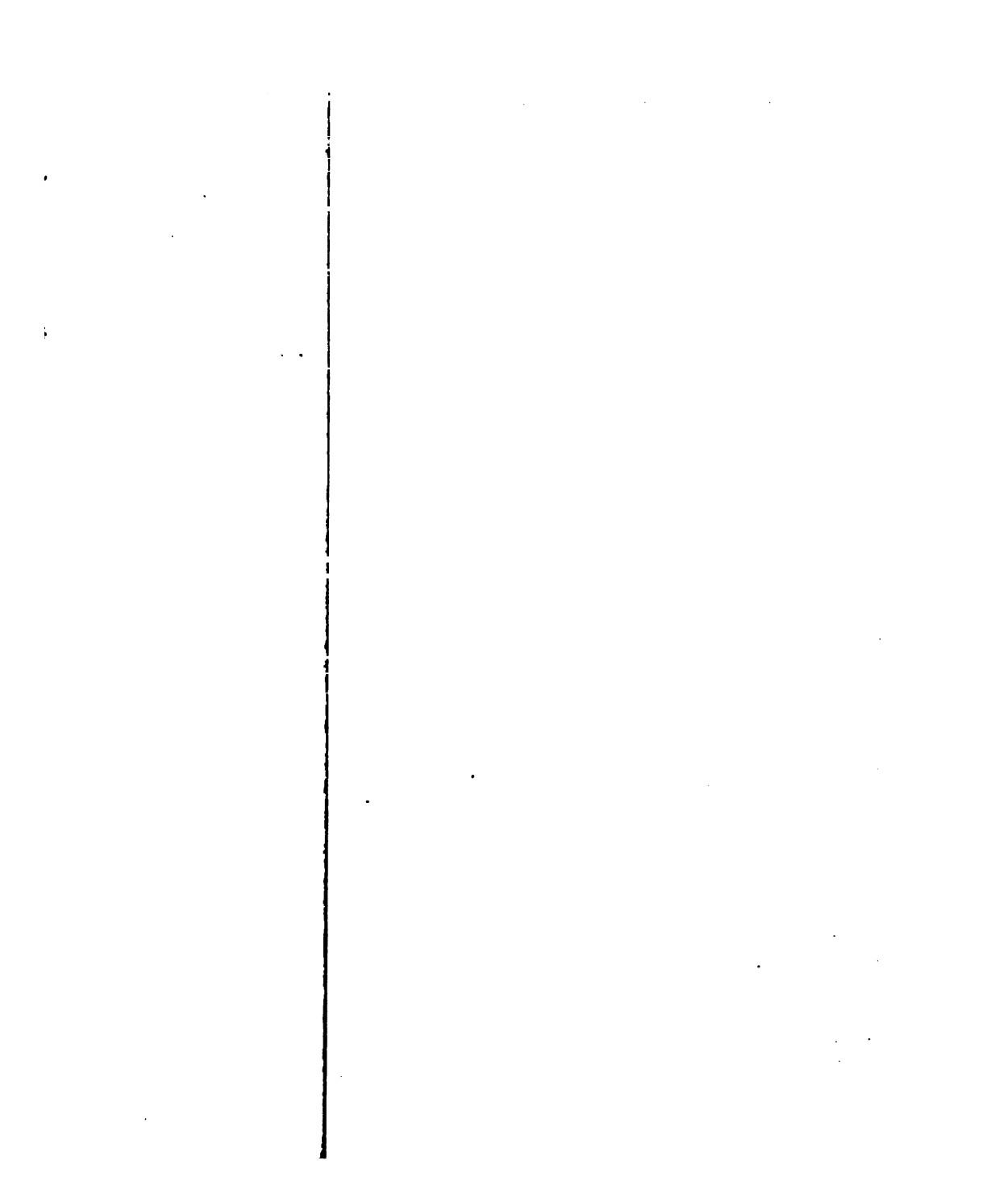
* In 1086 the parish of Creeting Allsaints was in the Stow Hundred, but at present only St. Peter's Creeting is included for civil purposes, and Allsaints is in Bosmere. The church division however remains. The rector of Allsaints attends the visitation at Stowe, because he is in the Rural Deanery of Stowe. These Deaneries were founded upon the ancient divisions by Hundreds. And this instance will assist in proving the antiquity of Rural Deaneries.

Names of the Parishes in the Hundred of Stow—continued.

1086.	1843.	Saxon meaning.	Remarks.
Dag-Word, or daga-words*	Dagworth - - -	DAG—a day — WORTH — large lands or a large hall. DAGA-WORTHE—Day's great hall, or the great hall of the day.	I prefer taking Dag as a name—a family of the name of Day are still in the Hundred.
Eruestun, or Torstun †	Tor's or Tot's hill -	TOR—the God of heaven—TUN, village. Tor's village.	From thence Tormea or Stow-market first seen.
Eſcofella	Adjoining Onehouse wood	EſT—the East—FELLA or FEA LD—a field. East Field.	Part of Onehouse wood.
Finebg—fineborga	Finborough - - -	FENN—a marsh—BURN or BORG a small town—The town of the Fen, or Fentown.	A large piece of shallow water must have filled all the lower parts of the valley through which the stream from Rattlesden now runs. It is still a marshy bottom. The town may have been of some importance—now the pretty village on the hill.
Hagala	Haughley - - -	HAGA—an inclosed place—LA, lo, behold! — or HAGA—HALA—healthy—the fields of health, healthy fields.	The natural exclamation of the first Saxon chief who saw the great Roman work here. <i>Haga!</i> There is the enclosed camp.
Heroleſtun	Harlston or Halston	HEROLES—Harold's—TUN—village.	Harold, killed at Hastings, had property in this neighbourhood. This parish belonged probably to him.
Newetuna—Newetun	Old Newton -	NIWE—new—TUN—village. New town, or new village.	The name imposed by the Saxon who thus founded his new home Rode, the Saxon proprietor.
Rodeham or Rodehallam	Rokeyard hall, Gipping	RODE—a name—HAM—home or mansion. Rode's home.	
Torneia—Tornai—Tornei	Thorney manor, now Stowmarket	TOR—the God of heaven—NA—a dead body, or EA—a stream, running water. Tor's water, or THORN-EIE—THORN-EY—a thorney island, a piece of land surrounded by water, & covered with thorn trees.	This agrees very well with the idea of his worship, the place of sacrifice—or with the local features—the place of waters. It was pronounced as written in Doomsday, Torney, or Tornei.
Watdene—Wederden—dena	Wetherden - - -	WEDER—the air or weather—DREWA, valley—bright weather valley, or bright valley—WAT—wet—wet valley.	This corresponds with the locality. It is a sweet little valley. Or thus, then no doubt as correct—two names existed in some parishes, both in use, and both descriptive of the place.
Vltun—Ultuna	Upland - - -	UL—an owl—Owl town—or better, up town.	The <i>xplonde</i> of Stow, so called in old writings for many hundred years. The name exactly corresponds, it being the highest ground about—still the other may be correct. These birds may have been numerous in its then thick woods, where the new church now stands.
Selland—Sellanda	Shelland - - -	SEL—a name—LANDA—lands.—Sel's lands.	Obvious, as a name imposed by the first Saxon settler.

* Dagworth—An ancient hall stood not many years since in this parish, which is now united to Old Newton. This hall has been pulled down, and spears, coins, and keys were often found in its precincts. The field where the church stood still goes by the name of Chapel Field.

† Torstun, or Terton, or Totshill, possessed a church. If my conjecture is right, this hamlet must have extended some way beyond the present turnpike towards Stowmarket, as tradition asserts that a church formerly stood in some of the fields now the property of Mr. Locke. The church or chapel stood in a field which still goes by the name of Chapel Field.



L.K.

*Doomsday-book) as they existed immediately previous to the year 1066.
rd the Confessor.*

F.C.K.				CHURCHES ENDOWED WITH LAND IN THE HUNDRED.			
For the nounced page 43	Horses. Equi.	Men Oxen. Bovis hominum.	Oxen. Bones.	PARISHES.		Quantity w. meadow a. arable.	TABLE OF PRICES. The price of Land and other things about the year 1000, from the laws of Etheldred
Torneia— Manor, Chilton, 1				Torneia Stow Mercatus, Stowmarket— St. Peter's Mater. Eccl. St. Mary's, a Chapel of Ease by H. de Montfort	100 a		
Upland (				Newton, Sexta pars Eccl. Creeting, 1 lab. 2 cottagers	23 a		A man or slave £. s. d. £. s. d.
Dagworth	2			Finborough	10 a		A horse 30 0 1 15 2
Combs . 2				Harleston.....	10 a		A colt..... 20 0 1 3 5
Finborou				Wetherden	15 m 1 a		An ass or mule 12 0
Onehouse				Buxhall	30 a		An ox..... 6 0
Buxhall	2			Haughley.....	31 a 1 m		A sheep..... 1 0
Harlester Eastfield				Dagworth, 1, & 1 church, (sine terra) without land	25 or 30		A cow..... 5 4
Totshill (				Eruestona	10 a		A goat..... 0 2
Thorpe (				Onehouse.....	3 a		A swine..... 1 3
Wetherde				Creeting (2nd)	10 a		An acre of land 16 silver pen- nies 4s. or £3
Haughley 6				Church Acres ..	324		of our money*
Newton (							* Henry's Eng- land, 2, c. 6.
Creeting 2							
Creeting 2							
Rodeha yard or Stonham. a few a							
Shelland	2						
	12	2	4				
AL RESULTS.				Churches 449 The land given as Giebe to these churches & most of it free from taxation was 12,054½ acres			
The lea at a roug							
The w 846 Total							
the time							
numbers an plough							
ted to each							
• The n							
774½ acres.							

Note—Stow Church was deprived of 100 acres of land by H. de Montfort—of 11 acres by Nigell of Combs—of 26 acres by R. Peverill of Onehouse, and 12 small farmers who were parishioners in the church of Stow (Eccl. Stow) were then claimed by the church of Combs and living there.

NUMBER OF CHURCHES IN SUFFOLK.

Completed—many of them having been erected from the year 700, and most, long before the Conquest, and therefore Saxon 373

Incomplete—or partially built, but in these cases, divine service was held in that part of the church which was finished, and as funds arose, and money was offered to God, they carried out the plan—half churches 41

A third of the church finished

A fourth

Three-fourths

One-fifth

One-sixth

Not defined, only just begun

Churches 449

The land given as Giebe to these churches & most of it free from taxation was 12,054½ acres

The quantity of corn produced at 16 bushels per acre (from the arable land of 6783 acres) is 108528 bushels or 13566 quarters.†

The stock amounted, small and large, to 1465.

Each plough had 4 oxen, 117½ ploughs 470 oxen.

† There was probably a mistake in placing this parish in Stow Hundred, or part of it was actually at the time within its limits, as in the case of Stonham. See the following remarks.

† The modern produce in the Hundred averages I believe about 6 coombs per acre; if we deduct a third for less perfect cultivation, it will be 4.

PARISH BOUND.

The limits then of the Hundred with the exception of one pariah Thorpe, were precisely what they now are in the Rural Deanery which preserves the old arrangement; and the boundaries of each parish with little variation are the same. Such a steady attachment to old institutions, habits, and customs, may well excite our pleasure, and although familiar with its effects every day on a small scale, it at first may cause some surprise. In some other counties this rooted veneration for our old parochial constitution has been disturbed, for in Warwickshire the names of every Hundred and their divisions as contained in Doomsday-book, are not to be found now. But with us a more thoroughly English habit of mind has prevailed. A thousand years have witnessed the unchangeable character of our parishes, and it is to this settled and determined character of mind, that we owe the preservation of our yet more valuable institutions of parish Churches, and Queen, Lords, and Commons.

The parishes and hamlets which now form the parishes of Stowmarket and Stowupland, at this period, were Chilton, Totahill, Thorna, or Thorney, and Upland, (ultun, up or further town.) The peculiarity of the union between the two parishes arises and dates its origin from a time some few years later than Doomsday-book. When the royal manor of Thorney, which then extended into the Upland as far as the Green on one side, and to Finborough bridge on the other, became subdivided, and other manors were created out of it, the limits of the old Thorne manor were then made the limits of the parish. But as three very small hamlets, Chilton, part of Tothill, and Upton, lay immediately adjoining, these became in time united by the parish church together. The Upland of these was much the largest, and finding the Gipping river a natural boundary between the parishes, it was extended, and thus two large parishes were formed out of the original four, the names of two of the hamlets, Chilton and Torstun being still preserved. And for many hundred years, down even to 1700, Stowupland was commonly termed the Upland, or *uplond* of Stow.*

* M. S. in Parish Chest.

STOWMARKET AND UPLAND.

which is its proper name, but for shortness it is now contracted into Stowupland, in the same way as the old name of *Market of Stow* is contracted into Stowmarket. Whilst Torney is called in the same authorities Thorney hamlet. A division of the manor must have taken place before the survey, for it is there stated to have been worth more when it was entire, but there appears no distinct statement when the division was made.*

The accompanying Table is compiled from the various pages in Doomsday-book, containing the survey of Suffolk, and it gives an accurate statement of the agricultural condition of the whole Hundred in those far-gone days. I have included our neighbour Thorpe in its columns, because she is found bound up with us in Stow. But how we lost her I have not been able to discover, and whether such a divorce was pronounced by her own good people, or whether a quarrel arose in former times, and as they lay at a little distance from Stow, the latter ejected them from its court, in the language of Doomsday, "no one in the Hundred knows."†

Observations upon the annexed Table.

The whole of the population in this compilation is taken at the period of king Edward's death in the year 1066. This I have preferred rather than to select the numbers from the return in 1086, because owing to the civil war of twenty years, the population had been much diminished, and large tracts of land had gone out of cultivation. But in some years after this period, it again recovered, and therefore the fairest estimate of Anglo Saxon farming, is made by taking the account of the produce and population in the Saxon Edward's day, rather than under the turbulent Norman William.

* See preceding chap.—Extract.

† The 2nd vol. of Doomsday Survey containing Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, ends thus—*ANNO MILESIMO OCTOGESIMO SEXTO. AB INCARNATIONE D'NI VIGESIMO V REGNI WILL'. FACTA EST ISTA DESCRIPTIO. NON SOLUM P' HOS TRES COMITATUS, SED ETIA' P' ALIOS.* I have taken this date of 1066 as that on which our attention is fixed in these three chapters.

POPULATION—CHURCHES.

There are now thirteen churches in the present Hundred, and then, to accommodate 3821 people, *ten, four halves*, and *one sixth* of a church existed. The population by the last census is 9311, so that unless our churches are much larger than theirs, we ought to have two-fold more sacred edifices than we possess. Their rule in the all-important subject of religion was to keep the churches in advance of the increasing population, whereas our rule has been unfortunately to allow the population to outgrow the church. This was one of their simple yet most efficacious secrets for preserving the whole of the people in uniform attachment to the church. They did not wait to see families wandering away for want of room, but kept pace and outwent the wants of the people. True, then no divisions existed, but the monastic and secular orders. Dissent was unknown, and its principles were not recognized. The Established Church provided for many religious variations of opinion within herself. The ascetic mind, which always existing in Christianity, has been desirous to render religion exclusive and sectional, could take shelter in the various monastic orders from the secularity of a more parochial religion, which is better adapted to the general mass of mankind. The monasteries at this time, and the parish clergy, were combined with some variations into one vast system of united discipline and doctrine under their Bishops. For 1500 years universal Christian opinion believed correctly that no form of religion but that established by Christ could be right, and Bishops were a necessary part of a church. No Bishop no Church was then the rule.

The Anglo Saxon Churches in England had united with the old British Churches in Wales, and were not yet completely brought under Rome and the Pope. So that these fifteen churches embraced the whole population to a man on each sabbath-day in worship together, with many of the same prayers and forms as are now still happily continued by the members of the establishment.

Their anxiety to obtain churches and build them, may be noticed in four half churches, and one, one-sixth of a church, being then in that state of erection

POPULATION—CHURCHES.

in the Hundred. When funds could not be raised to build a whole church on the same plan as all others, one half, or as at Newton one-sixth of it was built, until the increasing pious self-denial, or wealthy offerings of the people enabled the clergy to complete the sacred edifice. In all these cases the voluntary piety of the people was appealed to, and no legislative act was necessary, or was asked for, to build any one of the churches in Stow, or any one of the 417 churches in Suffolk at that time.

The clergy were supported by land attached almost invariably to each church, by the tithe, and by offerings. There are only sixteen instances in the whole county of churches without land (*sine terra.*) Their rule was rather to have a poor clergyman and the fourth part of a church, than to allow even a few souls in a parish to be without an authorized spiritual guide and house of prayer. Fifteen churches in Suffolk are described as having only a fourth part of their plan of erection completed. Thirty-seven churches as having one half. Five churches as having a third. One church as having a sixth. Four having one-fifth built. Nine possessing an undefined portion completed. One containing three-fourths of its plan perfected. And 345 churches are described as completed, making a grand total of 417 churches in Suffolk in the year 1086.* The population in the county was not more than thirty or forty thousand. It is now three hundred thousand.† We have 510 churches in which divine service is celebrated in the county. And about 50 churches and chapels are pulled down or are in ruins, or desecrated to some other purpose.‡ Our clergy are not sufficiently numerous to meet the spiritual wants of this increased population. We may learn from their holy wisdom our duty, and we seem generally in the nation to be aware of this luke-warmness in providing for our home Christianity.

The manor of Thorna, or Thorné, or Stowmarket, then possessed the largest population of any parish in the Hundred. But it carried on no commerce with places beyond sea. Its prosperity depended upon agriculture alone. No burgesses are mentioned

* See Appendix, No. 1.
† Census of 1841, is 315,129. ‡ Kirby, first ed. 1734.

POPULATION IN 1066 & 1841.

as in Ipswich, Clare, Eye, and some other places. Nor are any noticed in Bury. These places were not then incorporated. Thornea owed its rise to religious feeling, as well as Bury, and for this character of mind Suffolk has been always remarkable. An intercourse with Ipswich (Gippewiz) may probably have existed by flat-bottomed boats, for in an after period we shall find them going up as far as Rattlesden by a branch of the Gipping. It is not improbable from the great number of *men ploughs* mentioned in Stowmarket, that many of the commonality then increased their lord's rental by hiring themselves out in the Hundred for the tillage of lands. We can hardly suppose that less than eight men could manage one of these instruments, and as 47 existed in the manor, 376 persons could thus obtain their daily bread. In all the other parishes together, there were 32 of these implements. So that 79 men ploughs existed in the Hundred. This is a somewhat larger proportion than is to be found in the rest of the county. What we now do in farming by horses, was then done by oxen and men. Machinery has been to us as a nation a great blessing, but on the poor in all cases as individuals it has been a sorrow and loss.

*The Population of the different Parishes in the Hundred.**

	Population in 1066 Domesday census.	Population in 1841 late census.
Thorna and Chilton and part of Torstun (or Totshill) now Stowmarket, with Vltun, or the Upland	1584	3043
	903	
	1584	3946
Combs : : : : .	287	1064
Dagworth : : : : .	211	169
Finborough (both) : : : : .	{ 91	Magna 467 Parva 64
Carried forward . . .	2173	5710

* This calculation is made on the same basis as in the table. Taking the numbers as descriptive of heads of families, or men above 21. Each man plough employing eight men. And one half of the men married, with wife and three children. Add the men thus multiplied by five to the other moiety, and females altogether.

FARMING.

	Brought forward	Population in 1066 Domesday census.	Population in 1841 late census.
Totshill	- - - - -	36	
Eastfield	- - - - -	5	
Onchouse	- - - - -	126	303
Buxhall	- - - - -	200	533
Harston	- - - - -	48	90
Wetherden	- - - - -	180	515
Haughley	- - - - -	762	916
Newton	- - - - -	38	543
1st* Creeting (Allsaints)	- - - - -	141	286
2nd Creeting	- - - - -	112	213
Shelland	- - - - -	12	109
Rhoda (Gipping)	- - - - -	0	93
		3833	
Fractional men	- - - - -	13	
Total . . .		3846	9311

More than half and probably two-thirds of the land was covered with timber and coppice wood. Yet this proportion is less than in many other parts of the county, if we compare the number of wood-men with these parishes. Five woodmen, or wood-hooks, are enumerated in the whole, but in some other places, four, five, and even six wood-men are mentioned as living in one parish. Their employment was to cut faggots and lop timber, as well as to mow the small quantity of meadow land in the neighbourhood. Coal was then unknown in this county. Wood and charcoal in our parishes were the only fuel, and many hands became necessary to provide them. But from the small number in the Hundred, it is likely more land was cultivated, and there was less in wood than in other places, whilst the sale of wood from the neighbourhood might be one of the articles in the market.

Ten distinct woods are however mentioned in the Hundred, keeping 637 hogs. These animals were partially wild, and allowed to roam where they pleased in the coppice, feeding on the acorns and grass. Each land holder had the privilege of keeping a certain number in the wood of the manor. And so we find them enumerated in small parcels. One

* The 3rd Creeting is in Bosmere Hundred, and so described in Domesday.

THE STOCK.

man having six, another four, a third forty, a fifth thirty. There are three kinds of swine mentioned in Doomsday. Hogs of pasture, turned out in the day and brought together at night by the swine-herd (*porcarius*.) Hogs of herbage fed in styes. And wild hogs. Thus the extent of land required for them and the flocks of goats is much, perhaps four-fold greater than is necessary now. Those in Suffolk were the hogs of the wood, and in fact wild, and sometimes hunted for amusement. In some parishes three, four, and five hundred swine are enumerated as living in the wood.

The sheep walks in Stow were not very extensive, when we consider that only 607 sheep are mentioned; yet no artificial food is known to have been provided for them. They were milked every day, and butter and cheese produced from them.*

The goats were herded most probably with them, and amounted to 218. But both sheep and goats are placed like the hogs under each person's holding, and as property was more subdivided in Stow than in many other places in the county, the number kept by the largest holder does not amount to more than 146 sheep and 80 goats. In Mildenhall there were 1000 sheep at the same period. And in several places the flocks vary from 100 to 700. Goats' cheese and milk were also used. Twelve horses only were kept in the whole Hundred, and one half of those belonged to the lords of the manors. No farming business was therefore carried on by horse labour. In war the ancient Britons used horses, for Cæsar had to encounter their chariots drawn by two or four horses, and armed with scythes projecting from the nave of the wheel. But the Saxons fought on foot with battle-axes, and iron maces, and broad swords. Our Saxon ancestors were men of vast bone and limb, and their strength was a proverb. But I do not think we have at all degenerated in this. The Normans fought on horse-back, and every knight and man at arms was a mounted soldier. They encouraged the breed of horses, and from these times they

THE STOCK.

became more numerous, so that in 800 years they have altogether displaced the patient, laborious, profitable draught ox. The ploughing and carting was then principally performed by oxen, of which 470 at least are enumerated as plough oxen in the Hundred. A plough represented four oxen, for it is said in one place there was half a plough, now one ox only. In another, there was one plough, now two oxen remain.* There are not more than about 250 horses surveyed and numbered in *the whole* of Suffolk. These were all I think for pleasure, and even in this exercise our Saxon gentlemen did not much delight. To fight on foot and hand to hand was their boast; and to hunt the wild boar and wolf on foot was their pleasure.

The hay produced in the Hundred must have been small, when 261 acres only existed as meadow land; but a small quantity of this was in grass. Cows are seldom mentioned in *any* part of the survey. Nor was there much cow's milk produced in these districts. As 119 ploughs drawn by oxen existed, cows in proportion must have been kept even for breeding. But cows when kept being distinctly introduced, these probably were milked, and the others were only preserved as breeders and for food. Salted provisions of every kind were made up for winter consumption, and salt pools or pans were places of great profit and importance. These are mentioned on the coast, as at Yarmouth, and one or two other places, but Cheshire appears from Doomsday to have been the great manufactory of salt for the whole kingdom.† Beer in every shape and in all kinds of strength, was the universal liquid at meals. And mead, or more rarely wine, was the liquor at great feasts or entertainments. Two boves hornimur, or *men oxen*, are described in Buxhall. What can the good people there have meant by these beasts? They are only once or twice mentioned in Suffolk elsewhere. Can they have been trained to the saddle, and did they thus take a ride for pleasure, or attend a hunt on their oxen? I rather think this is the meaning

* *Turner's Hist. Ang. Saxon*, 3, 16.

† b. 411. Doomsday.

† *Turner*, 3, 77. Doomsday, v. 1.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

of the term, and from its rarity that this was their employment. If so, the experiment did not succeed in displacing horses. They may have been trained to carry a litter for the great man's lady there, and this is an easy solution of the difficulty.

There are eleven mills and one-fourth, enumerated in the Hundred. By the terms half a mill, one-fourth, one-third, mentioned so repeatedly in all parts of the kingdom, is to be understood one or more proprietors keeping a mill amongst them for the convenience of their families or tenants. So that when an occupier or owner is stated in the Hundred to have half a mill, he joined with some other person in establishing and keeping one in repair. The number of the mills in the Hundred now is sixteen. We therefore grind more than they did, or contrariwise, as we consume so much more bread, we should require thirty Saxon mills to supply our population. These were like our own, of two kinds, water and wind mills, and are mentioned repeatedly in their deeds of conveyance under these different terms. I suppose the three mills in Thorney or Stowmarket were moved by water, and two of them stand now where it is likely their grinding ancestors stood.*

* Their food, (Turner's Anglo Saxon History, 3, c. 3,) may be thus shortly stated.—Fish (fresh water of all our present kinds.) Fish, salt of all they could catch, but some were unclean, and they refused them. Pigs of every degree and size. Bread, “big loaves,” says the fisherman in the Saxon dialogues, “I labour for.” Horse flesh, but this after their conversion to Christianity became unfashionable, and was soon discontinued. Barley bread was eaten by the young monks of Bury, because wheaten bread was too dear. Milk, cheese, and eggs. Figs, nuts, almonds, pears, apples, grapes, are mentioned every where. Beans, salt, honey. Broths and soups were made. Herbs of all kinds eaten. For drinks—ale, the juice of John Barleycorn, in every degree of goodness and badness—mead, clear ale, Welsh ale, mild ale, warm wine are mentioned. Pigment, made of wine, spice, and honey. Morat, made of honey and mulberries. Cider. Eating and drinking three or four times a day was then a fashion. Drunkenness was prohibited, and this is the Saxon definition of it—“The state of the mind is changed, the tongue stammers, the eyes are disturbed, the head is giddy, the belly is swelled, and pain follows.” The clergy were forbidden to frequent ale houses. They boiled, baked, and broiled. There were no forks in those days, but knives and spoons at table. The ladies sat intermingled, and each beside a gentleman. Horns and bowls were the common vessels; cups and flagons of gold and silver amongst the upper classes.

CHURCH BUILDERS.

The public buildings in Stow Hundred were the the churches. A great fortification existed at Haughley, and this may have been encircled by some walls. The lofty mound of earth with a ditch and outer work still exist. Its origin must have been coeval with the Romans. Fifteen parish churches existed. Some of them were not completed, and stone was frequently employed in their erection. In the Hundred and County nearly all are alike now composed of flints cemented in strong mortar with cut stone angles and copings. Many of those which existed in Saxon times were of wood. The great abbey at Bury was not built of stone until after this period.* From so many churches recorded in Domesday as building, it would seem that much in this way was then doing, and many of the wooden structures were giving way to stone.†

The gift of the advowson or perpetual right of presentation to churches, bestowed on certain bishops and monasteries for the good of the giver's soul—giving of land to the church for the welfare of souls, are of common occurrence in all parts of the kingdom. Nine freed-men in Stonham thus built and endowed the church with land (*pro animis suis*),‡ for the good of their souls. The greatest number of the churches were built *by the clergy*, and not by the proprietors. They built as they could, and as stones, timber, and materials were offered to God by the people. Five churches in Stow Hundred were building, when the survey was made in 1086. The clergy began to build in faith, and completed these sacred and costly edifices by arousing the energies of the people, and thus became the means of promoting active piety and good works amongst them. All the churches in their plan symbolized, or represented the great features of the Christian Creed. There was in general no deviation from the grand outline. The clergy began them, and no layman's taste interfered with what they did, because they were consulted as the proper persons to superintend such religious works. They built for eternity, controlled only by

* Turner, 2, Appendix, 338.

† Baker's Chronicles, p. 9, and Appendix 1, in this vol.

‡ Doomsday Suf.

CHURCH MATERIALS.

their Bishops. And to the latter order, Christianity owes her greatest undertakings, her brightest instances of devoted faith, her most laborious missionaries, her deep learning, and the preservation of the Bible and Apostolic form of Church Government. The exertions of the clergy in preaching, catechising, and praying, were successful and laborious. Their unity gave them much power, and their appeal was simple yet sublime — "give freely to God. The timber, the stone, the gold, the silver, the labour, are perishable things, and he dwells in the universe and not in temples made with hands. But in them his people can meet to worship him best, and therefore in this way you can honour and give to him who is invisible, and who gave his Son's blood for you." We want more of such stirring and simple appeals now.

Some of the present churches in Stow Hundred must date back beyond the year 1066, as flint work is indestructible, and they are all composed of this material which is found on the spot. The window and door frames are generally of Caen (as it is called) stone. This must have been imported by the Bishops of Suffolk from beyond sea. Or it may have been quarried in Northamptonshire, as much of this kind of stone was brought to Bury for the Church of the Abbey. The wooden oratories of the first missionaries would soon yield to the general wish to use flint gathered from the ground around. Chalk is close at hand for lime, and I conclude that many of the present Suffolk churches may date their origin before the year 800. In some cases, however, bricks were used very largely in building. And this place having been long celebrated for its clay, bricks may have been burnt here from a very early period. That they were used in East Anglia is certain, for Burgh Castle monastery owes its origin in the year 640, to Furseus, an Irishman,* who there began it in the reign of Sigeberht king of the East Angles. Abundance of British bricks were laying there about the year 1580,† which had been used in the old buildings of the

HOUSES, ETC.

monastery.* This art of brick making was introduced perhaps by the Romans into England, but of this we are not sure, because the Celts coming from the east, they might have brought this art with them from Babylon where of old it was in great perfection. A mass of foundation dug up from eight feet in depth, where the second church stood in Stow-market church-yard, is however composed of flints cemented together by lime.

The farm buildings, houses of the peasantry, and mansions of the gentry were all of wood, or of timber framed filled up with clay. Most of them in the Hundred were mean and uncomfortable habitations, without chimneys, without glass, covered with reeds or thatch, or roofed in the best cases with rough boards. "Of old time our country houses in stead of glasse did use much latisse, and that made either of fine rists of oke in thickerwise. I read also that some of the better sort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithstanding used some glasse also since the time of Benedict Bisop, the monke, that brought the feste of glassing first into this land) did make pannels of horne in stead of glasse, and fix them in wooden casement."† "The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber.‡ The clai wherewith our houses was impaanelled is either white, red, or blue. They cover them with straw, sedge, or reed." "In old tyme the houses of the Britons were alightle set up with a few posts, many radels, with stable, and all offices under one roof."§ "In times past the use of stone was in a manner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houses, princely palaces, bishop's manours, and holdes onlie."|| In still earlier times, and just before this period (1066), men were contented to dwell in houses "huilded of sallow, willow, plum-tree, hard beame, and clime, so that the use of oke was in a manner dedicated inholie unto churches, religious houses, princes"

* The castle itself was erected by the Romans at a very early period of the Christian era. The walls are still in existence and composed of alternate layers of brick and flint stone.

† Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1586, p. 167.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 188.

§ *Ibid.* 284.

* Bede's *Church History*, b. 3, c. 19.
† Camden.

PLOUGHS, CROPS, ETC.

palaces, noblemen's lodgings, and navigation." "Then had we none but rare dosses, and our heads did never ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardening for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the goodman and his familie from the quacke or pose, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted."

These extracts from one of our ancient Chronicles are sufficient to explain the kind of buildings, in which our fathers dwelt in the year 1066, and to make us value our improvements on their coarse yet plentiful maner of living. Clay and oak were the principal materials employed in this Hundred for walls. Of these a large part of the vicarage is composed, which is one of the oldest houses in the town, yet the edifices are warm, dry, and when well roofed very durable.

The time for sowing, reaping, and various farming employments, may be known from the description given of these occupations in an ancient Saxon calendar.

Ploughs, sickles, rakes, forks, flails, and waggons, were of the forms we now use. Their weeds were guarded by severe penalties, for not only did hogs fatten and feed there on acorns, beech nuts, and other productions, but their fuel in those parts was altogether drawn from thence. They fined every man who without leave cut down a great tree £15 of our money, besides a large sum as a penalty to the king.

No sheep was allowed to be shorn until after Midsummer.

In January men plough with *four oxen*, one drives, another guides the plough, a third is sowing. The time for sowing wheat was in Spring. (says *Bede*, A.D. 640.)

In February they cut and pruned their trees.

In March they dug and sowed seed (barley and oats.)

In April, the calendar represents them sitting and drinking out of horns.

In May the shepherd tends his flock, carries the

CROPS—FARM SERVANTS.

lambs, and the farmer stands by to see that all goes right.

In June! they are reaping with the sickle, others put the corn in a cart, and some blow the harvest-horn. (This seems very early for a harvest.)

In July they are cutting down trees.

In August they mow the grass.

In September they hunt the wild boar. (A sport very different to the torment inflicted on a hare!).

In October they hawked.

In November they are working in a smithy; mending the farming instruments.

In December they thrashed and measured their corn in a vessel with a notched stick.

In the Saxon Dialogues^{*} the ploughman says—"I labour much. I go out at day-break urging the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plough (the syl.) It is not yet so stark winter that I dare keep close at home for fear of my lord. But the oxen being yoked, and the share and coulter fastened on, I ought to plough every day one entire field or more. I have a boy to threaten the oxen with a goad, who is hoarse through cold and bawling. I ought also to fill the bins of the oxen with hay, and water them, and carry out their soil. It is great labour because I am not free." The man was in bond or a slave, as were most if not all the labourers.[†] The date of this curious extract is about the year 900. The shepherd in the same dialogue says—"In the first part of the morning I drive my sheep to their pasture, and stand over them in wet and cold with dogs, lest the wolves destroy them. I lead them back to their folds, and milk them twice a day, and I move their folds, and make cheese and butter. I am faithful to my lord."

* *Turner*, 2.—Appendix 4.

[†] Thus Wilfrid, Bishop of Northumberland converted the South Saxons to Christianity. Hampshire was given to him by the king. The South Saxons stretched from Kent to Devonshire, and contained the heads of 1000 families. In the land given to Wilfrid for the church, in other words, to provide clergymen who should devote themselves to the instruction of the people in Christianity, there were 250 "men and women slaves." "These (says venerable Bede) he rescued not only from the slavery of the devil, but he gave them immediate freedom and took from them the yoke of human slavery." *Eccles. Hist.* b. 4, c. 13.—About the year 670.

FARM SERVANTS.

The herdsman says—"when the ploughman separates the oxen, I lead them to the meadows, and all night I stand watching over them, on account of thieves; and again in the morning I lead them to the plough well fed and watered." In Essex, cows with calves are of frequent occurrence. These were most probably trained up for milking, and as this is not a stock mentioned in either Suffolk or Norfolk, nor common any where else, we may conclude that it was then only beginning to be introduced, and that to our Essex neighbours we are indebted for cows' milk and cheese. From these extracts we can conclude that of the 261 acres of meadow in Stow, one half in all probability was set apart to pasture the oxen at night, that the sheep were milked like cows, and that hay was raised in small quantities. Barley, wheat, and oats are mentioned as general crops.*

* An old fragment which gave the quantity of ground under tillage or pasture in each division of the county during the Heptarchy, mentions (*Camden*) East Angle as containing 30000 hides. Each hide by Bede was considered the representative of a family, and thus we have 30000 families multiplied by 5 = 150,000, for the population of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. My calculations would at a rough estimate bring the population in Suffolk

POPULATION.

We thus obtain a statement of what our forefathers were doing in the county, how they lived, their amusements, and their devotions 800 years since. Let us notice in the next chapter the names of those persons who occupied the land in these parishes as proprietors, or tenants, with their different ranks and possessions.

to 40 or 50,000, which will correspond with this ancient statement of the Heptarchy.

It is said by Ingulphus that nothing in the Survey was omitted. And this may be fairly admitted in the three great Eastern counties. The population being the strength of kings, it was no doubt as accurately described as the land. But it would be quite sufficient to do this after the Saxon fashion, by *families*. This was a very ancient and comprehensive method mentioned by Bede, (b. 4, c. 16,) and in various places of his history. The clerks who compiled Doomsday were almost all of them Saxons. This is evident from the internal evidence of the volume. They understood this computation and would keep to it. I have therefore considered the persons mentioned to be *heads of families*, and have calculated one half married at five to a family. One would conclude from a passage or two in Bede that a hide of land was considered the quantity necessary for each Saxon freeholder's family. Thus 300 families, or 300 hides of land were given to Wilfrid (bishop) in the Isle of Wight, A.D. 680, as the patrimony of the church. Again—the land of one family or a hide was given to Hilda, the famous abbess, whereon to build a monastery, at Whitby. (b. 4, e. 23.)

CHAPTER XII.

THE RANKS AND ORDERS OF MEN, AND NAMES OF THE PROPRIETORS AND TENANTS IN THE HUNDRED OF STOW, A.D. 1066 TO 1086.*

LOWER ORDERS.

THE different kinds of tenures and the ranks in this Hundred at the above periods may be stated in few words. These remarks apply generally to the state of society in the whole of those counties brought under the survey. In Wales the tenures were different to a certain extent, but the ranks were much the same.

LOWER ORDERS.

The *Servi*, were slaves in person, and to all intents and purposes, and could be sold, themselves, their wives and children as their master pleased. Forty-three of these personal slaves, who held no land or goods of any kind, were in Stow at this time, and eight of them in Stowmarket. This is a smaller number than in some other parts of the county, and the influence of the Church here in procuring freedom for them must therefore have been great. (See table, chap. XI.)

* Doomsday Suf. Hund. Sto. passim.

MIDDLE CLASSES.

The *Villani* or villans, were a very large class of predial or land bond-men, who could not be detached from the estate on which they lived, but were sold or granted with it like the timber on the property. They lived in cottages which the owner provided, and where he pleased, and were removable from one part of the estate to another. Their situation was a little better than that of the poor *Servi*. Ninety-three of these men with their families were living in the Hundred, and forty-one of them in the market.

The *Bordarii*, were persons still better off than the villans. They had cottages and gardens, and were attached to the estate and sold or granted with it, but it does not appear that they could be treated by common right in so arbitrary a manner as the first and second of these classes. Two hundred and thirteen families of this kind were then in Stow Hundred, and twenty-seven in Thornea market.

Liberati or *liberi homines*, freed men, were made from these three classes. The ceremony was generally performed at church, where the owner of the man in servitude gave him publicly a sword or spear, and declared him *frē* for ever, with the reasons for which the act was done. Then the man and his family (if his family were included in the freedom) could go where they pleased. They became land holders either by purchasing a portion from the lord without service; or they became copy holders and free in person. One hundred and ninety-four of this class are mentioned in the Hundred. The clergy were the persons most anxious for the freedom of the whole population, and to them the liberty of the people is owing.

The *Sochemanni*, were farmers, or rather tenants in the manor, removable (I think) at pleasure, and bound to yield certain services to the owner of the estate, and pay him a rent. If not paid, then ejection followed. But if he pleased he could clear his estate of them, as Roger Bigot did in Stow-market (p. 44,) for after he received Thornea from King William, he removed thirty-three of the *Sochemanni* on it, and left only seven. Many, if not all these men were free in person, but not strictly free-holders of ground, otherwise they could not have

UPPER RANKS.

been removed when the manorial lord pleased, as simple tenants. Perhaps this Earl Bigot (who was a most violent, headstrong person, and a great bigot to his own views of things) thought that the valuable manor of Thornea was divided into too many tenements, and so determined to introduce a wealthier and larger class of tenants. A questionable policy for the welfare of either landlord or people.

The *Anglo Saxon Thanes* were the old nobility of the country, but many of them and their families became copyholders under the Norman nobility, where they had taken part in the civil war against William. Some of these are mentioned by name in the Hundred of Stow.* They were the real Esquires, or true equestrian rank of our times, and from them the higher nobility were created.

The *Anglo Saxon Gentlemen*, were still smaller proprietors before the revolution, and are at this period comprehended in the class of freeholders, especially when the term a freeholder of King Edward is mentioned. There came in with the Norman knights a great crowd of soldiers, men at arms, and Subaltern officers, who all fought for

* The dignity of a Thane, Thane, Tein, or Noble, having the privilege of attending the Wittenagemot or Parliament, was obtained by descent and grant from the crown. It was an honour attached to the accumulation of wealth by royal patent. The antiquity of the existing principles of our constitution is perceptible in this institution. Patents of nobility are now not unfrequently granted to those who distinguish themselves by the talent of gaining great landed possessions from mercantile enterprize, and unite with it those traits of character and intellect which evidence the aristocracy of nature in a true nobility of soul. And in those Saxon times, "if a churl or common man thrived, so as to have five hundred acres of his own land, a church, a kitchen, and bell tower, a seat, and an office in the king's court (was a magistrate) from that time forward he was esteemed equal in honour to a Thane." (*Spelman's Councils*, i, 406.) His son assumed without rebuke the full rank of the lower nobility. The kitchen was however to support ten families. Before he could act as local justice, a scrutiny of his possessions was made. The direct descendants of Ketel, the Thane of Onehouse, were until very lately residents in the Hundred, as farmers, and are still living in an adjoining parish. (Ofton.) It is a pleasing reflection that the circular bell tower, the church, and part of what must have formed the kitchen of Onehouse Mansion, still remain, and may have been erected by Thane Ketel. The great hall was pulled down and its site is now the flower garden of Onehouse Hall, but this house stands yet on part of the old foundations of this ancient Thaneship.

THE CROWN.

plunder as their pay, and received out of the forfeited estates a share in the Anglo Saxon spoils. These nameless men (Neomanni) received names and estates cut out of the land of the old proprietors. They became then English squires, or gentlemen.

The *Noblemen*, both Normans and Saxons, held all the land at this time in capite from the king. The Hundred was thus possessed and every inch of land was re-granted by the king, so that they all considered themselves as great proprietary tenants, or copyholders under the crown.

The *Clergy*, in their different ranks, were either freeholders or copyholders. And stood at the head of the above classes immediately beneath the King in their several ranks of Bishops, Abbots, Presbyters, and Deacons. These four classes of them are found holding land in the Hundred, and it is most likely that not more than one or two Presbyters (or Priests) were living in Stow Hundred. The remaining churches being served by Deacons, or Monks.

The King was the great manorial lord of half the kingdom, and at this period kept in his own hand 1422 manors. The founder of the church here before the conquest must have been the King, because the limits of the parish being of equal extent with his manor, the duty vested in the crown of thus providing spiritual instruction for his tenants. The building of churches was encouraged in this manner by granting their patronage to the founders.

Patronum faciunt Dic, Edificatio, Fundus:

Tithe or Land, a glebe, and a church, constituted a patron.*

We have, therefore, in Stow Hundred, King William holding the fee of the manor of Thorna or Thorae, which consisted of the largest part of the present parishes of Stowmarket and Stowupland. Roger Bigot, Bishops, and Noblemen, holding under him. These had their Esquires, Gentlemen, Saxons, and Normans. The clergy of the Hundred, as freeholders or proprietors. The socmanni or farmers. The smaller freeholders. The bordarii or cottagers;

THE TWO CONSTITUTIONS.

the villani or labourers; the servi or slaves. These three last classes were in wretched bondage, but now blessed be the gospel and church the name of slave does not taint the air of England.

This kind of arrangement was different from the old Saxon-British constitution under Alfred. Then all the upper classes in the county, counts, clergy, and gentry, held their lands in fee by the constitution, or common law custom, and not from the king. The parliament (or *Wittana-gemot*) in which they all had a voice, gave the law to the kingdom, and these feudal tenures were but little known. The Norman government made everything to depend on themselves, and introduced the centralizing system by which all came from London and the Court. The Saxon-British constitution distributed this power over the whole country in Counties, Hundreds, and Parishes. This tyrannical innovation on good old rights, was steadily resisted by our ancestors, and the great charter wrested from the wretched creature King John, placed the ancient constitution in many of its laws on record again, and re-established the liberties of the kingdom on their old footing.*

The charges to which every estate was liable were—1st, repairing highways and bridges;—2nd, attending the king by a levy or an militia;—3rd, building or defending royal castles;—4th, repairing the parish churches. This latter common law charge arose no doubt from the churches having been built by the voluntary help of the whole parish; and from all the parishioners having a right to enter and sit there to attend divine service. The new constitution made every man hold from some lord, and these imposed in many cases fines, services, and rents, at their pleasure. There was no such thing strictly speaking as a perfectly free tenure until 1660, when

* The great alteration in the whole system of tenures by the introduction of the Norman manors, may be seen in what occurred around Blackburn, Rochdale, and other places. Before the conquest all the large holders of land were free, and each was lord of his own estate—but after that event there was not one who did not hold his estate under the will and fines of a manorial lord. *Vulgaris opinio tenet et assertis quod fuerant vel manus seu maneria nominum, iei nuerunt domini—post conquestum autem in unum dominium omnia sunt redacta.* *Monasticon* i. 792.

POPEY.

by an act of Charles the Third, all feudal tenures were abolished. Thus long did this revolution in property last, from 1066 to 1660.*

The usurpations of Popery on the Church had gone hand in hand with these usurpations on the civil rights of the subject. The old Saxon-British church had always protested against many of the worst acts of the Roman Catholic church. Peter's pence, a tax of one silver penny on each household had been imposed by the Danish kings and paid to the Pope. As soon as the Saxon line was restored in the throne, the church refused to pay this unjust tax, and one of the promises made by William to the Pope on obtaining the consecrated banner for his army was, to cause this and its arrears to be paid. In this Hundred the tax amounted to about 150 silver pennies annually, or in our money £27 11s. 3d. Too much to pay to a foreign Bishop for corrupt church practices and erroneous doctrines. Our British Saxon fathers had resisted this imposition, and at the reformation they rejected Popery as a system which injured the Catholic Church and would not reform itself. May we ever continue steadfast in such acts, and be true to our great church principles, which are Catholic, Apostolic, and Divine. The best service that an Englishman can offer to religion and his country is to labour that all may come back to that happy period, when in religious essentials we were of one mind and worshipped in the same chapels and churches. Mutual forbearance, an examination of principles, a broad mutual foundation for communion without the treacheries and evils of a narrow conceited conscience, with greater simplicity and therefore greater intensity of love to God are wanted, and then those who separate can unite once more with those who have anchored their faith and form of worship in the oldest foundations.

Previous to the century now under examination, the clergy of the Hundred sat in the Hundred courts with the magistrates. The bishop went to the county court. His episcopal residence was then at Hoxne,

* Blackstone on Feuds—for other remarks also, and Doomsday every where.

NAMES OF PROPRIETORS.

and was not removed to Norwich until after this period. But William separated the two powers, and made distinct courts. The ecclesiastical courts are relics of Papery. Before this time the clergy took part with the laity in the administration of justice, and no separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction existed.

In reading these and the following remarks we must always remember that a picture of Stow at this time is a picture of the whole kingdom under survey, and that when we read its history, we read the history of our country in its general features. This will add something to the interest felt in what might otherwise be treated as a mere local history. We are now as heretofore bound up with the kingdom, and what affects the whole in most cases affects ourselves.

NAMES OF PROPRIETORS, &c. "IN SVDFVLC."*

THORNA, or THORNEA. King William held the manor, and under him Roger Bigot one of his Nor-

* A few Saxon names and significations showing how distinct family surnames have in some cases been obtained from a common ancestor.

Albert	-	all illustrious	-	The same
Aldred	-	all reverend	-	"
Alfred	-	altogether peaceful	-	"
Godard	-	a divine temper	-	Goddard
Giffard	-	a bountiful disposition	-	Gifford
Bernard	-	a filial affection	-	Bernard
Merha	-	the bright one	-	"
Baldwin	-	a bold conqueror	-	"
Kistic	-	a man powerful in knyflik Kemic	-	"
Cuthbert	-	famous for skil	-	"
Eadward	-	a happy preserver	-	Edward
Froderic	-	powerful in peace	-	"
Gislebert	-	an illustrious pledge	-	Gilbert
Hare	-	a lord	-	"
Hereman	-	a chief man	-	Harman
Heribert	-	famous in arms	-	Heribert
Edimand	-	happy peace	-	Edmund
Red, Red, & Rod-	well	} counsel	-	"

These are compounded in various ways as significant of the qualities of the man who had the name first given to him and founded each family, as Rodbert, eminent for counsel—Rodwell, good counsel—Conrad, skillful in counsel. (Counsel.)

The curious observer will remark in how many cases the distinguishing mental or bodily feature which gave a name to the first of the family, still makes its appearance at intervals in their descendants, and binds them in blood and mind to those upon whom God had placed some distinctive character. The same reflections will arise in tracing the descendants of noble families, or in contemplating races and national families amongst men.

DE MONTFORT.

man knights. A fierce, headstrong, turbulent noble, with more courage than learning, yet possessing an impetuous energy of mind that descended to his posterity and urged them sometimes to defy the throne and rush into rebellion. He was not however destitute of the charities and affections of domestic life. His wife Adeliza had several children, and amongst them his property was divided. A daughter named Matilda was married to the cup-bearer or great butler (*pincerna*) of Henry the First. The latter Wm. de Abbeney (afterwards altered into Daubeney) was greatly attached to her, and describes himself as groaning and weeping (*gemens et plorans*) at her death. On the day of her funeral he gave the manor of Happisburg to the monks of Wymondham in Norfolk, to pray for her soul. And on the same melancholy occasion whilst his tears fell upon her closing grave, he laid upon the great altar of the church a silver cross containing a relic of the true cross, of the Saviour's manger, and the virgin's tomb, with a gold ring, and a golden cup in shape like a globe, of wonderful workmanship for the celebration of the Communion. How noble are such gifts when devoted to God for the service of the living, in building and endowing churches, and from gratitude for the gift of a Saviour to man.*

Hugo de Montforti had seized 100 acres of arable land belonging to the church at Stow. Of this he restored 24 acres, by settling them upon the chapel of ease belonging to the mother church, which four of the freeholders had built, but not in his days. They are mentioned as having held land on the estate which he then possessed. This land (I think) is what was formerly attached to the rectorial tithes, but is now separated from them. As to the 76 acres which he ought also to have restored, I can testify that the church has them not. This ennobled knight was a younger branch of a more noble family in France. His name was sometimes corrupted by English pronunciation and written thus—"Hugone de Mumfort, *quinquaginta naves et sexaginta milites.*"†

* *Monasticon* i, 339.

† *Turner's Anglo-Saxon Hist.* quotation from an ancient and curious MS., b. 6, ch. 15.

BIGOT.

He brought over 50 ships* and 60 knights. They became earls of Leicester, and one of the family afterwards returned to France. But in 1265 Simon de Montfort founded a house for Franciscan friars in Leicester;* and another in Northampton of White friars.† In Warwick one of his family chose the Black friars as those whom they would establish.‡ In all these cases, be they black, white, or grey, the founders had one great and simple object, which if directed aright is a noble principle and has moved the world—namely, the salvation of their souls. This Leicester Simon was born in France and was the son of that bitter enemy of the Albigenses. He had carried on the crusade against those protesters against the Church of Rome with unrelenting fury. Simon|| was son-in-law to Henry the Third, and he took the side of the people against the tyranny of the king. He was killed in battle in 1265, and songs descriptive of his friendship for the people were sung in honour of his memory. These songs are written in half Saxon, half Anglo-Norman, and show us the progress which our present English language had made in 200 years from the conquest.§

The land belonging to the king in these two parishes and held under him principally by Roger Bigot,¶ must have been well cultivated to yield such a rental

* *Tanner*, 245.

† *Ibid.* 386.

‡ *Ibid.* 583.

|| From this branch, the writer's wife, Margaret de Montfort, is descended. Her great grandfather was Count Pierre de Montfort, of Languedoc, in France, and at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he fled as a Protestant in 1688, to preserve his religion to Meath County, in Ireland, carrying with him jewels, plate, and money.

§ *Thierry*, 1258.

¶ This name is derived from the Norman habit of swearing by their maker on solemn occasions. And this family had its name from the rough profanity perhaps of its founder, who was a Norman under Duke Rollo, the first great leader of their nation into France from the North. When brought before Carolus Stultus to do homage for the grant of Normandy, he was directed to kiss the king's foot. On which he replied in English, *Ne se by God—not so by God.* On this he was derided by the king and called Duke Bigod—a kind of surname which some of the family bore. (*Camden—Normans.*) It is very possible that the term Bigot or Bigod, as written both ways, and applied to fierce fanatics who persecuted men for their religion, may have its origin from the determined fierceness of Rollo and his descendants, in making every one submit to their will.

PROPRIETORS.

to the lord. Under Edward, the rents were low. Although the population had fallen off one fourth, and a proportionate diminution of stock took place, yet it was raised from £875 to £1800. Such was the grasping avarice of the king and his nobles. Nor is this a singular case, for through the whole of Suffolk and in all the counties under survey, the same impoverishing extortion was pursued.

Count Robert Earl of Morton had tenants in the manor under the king.

Roger de Otburvilla the same.

Frodo, brother to the Abbot of St. Andoene.

Roger de Pictauensis, a French knight, under him as a copyholder one *Norman* (a mere common soldier) held, but then he became a small gentleman. He obtained the land of *Girald*, an old Saxon-British proprietor who was either turned out or had been killed. It had paid £30 rent, but then it was worth only £15.

Roger de Candos, a French knight, held 100 acres under Hugh de Montfort.

Rad Stalra held 100 acres by bond from Viscount Toli. He was an old proprietor in king Edward's time, a Saxon, and the court of the Hundred was examined as to his claim on the land, for his deeds were not forthcoming. Where the defective titles existed, the inquisitors adopted the shorter plan of giving a new title, enabling the king to take possession of the property and grant it to some one else. He had been a Saxon noble in the former reiga and held large possessions. He died however before the Conquest, and some of his lands at South Walsham had been conveyed to the abbey of Hulme, from whose walls the abbey of Bury first received its monks and abbot. This grant to these Religious was confirmed by the king, and made out of gratitude to Christ the King of kings for all his favours to "man bestowed and by man undeserved," the usual style in those times before Romanism and the Norman revolution so grievously corrupted the Church of England.*

Euen de Erueo, or Erveo, held 100 acres that *Bric-*

HERVEY.

*tric Blac** a Saxon tenant held under *Count Witgar*, a Saxon lord. *Hervey de Bituricens* was the then lord of the manor, and became one of the great landed proprietors having manors everywhere. The Saxon count thus dispossessed and killed in the war was a man of great possessions in many parts of the county. *Richard de Clare* had succeeded to this portion of his inheritance, but *Hervey* held it by an excellent title in those days, *ex dono Regis*, by the king's gift. *Witgar* is called "the famous count," in a deed belonging to the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. He had a son named *Aluric*, who gave Mellford to the abbey.† They were both famous men, earls, and Saxons of great property. *Clare* was granted by the son to some secular canons (married clergy) in the reigns of Hardicanute and Canute, and this Rich. de

* In the ages immediately succeeding these times, the possession of more names than one was considered a mark of gentle birth. A man with one name was despised, and as none could assume an additional name unless entitled to do so by the king, or from his landed property, there was a good reason for the prejudice in favour of a plurality of names. About the year 1120, Robert Fitz Aymon, of Gloucestershire, left an only daughter, beautiful, accomplished, enormously rich, and called, one would hope from her temper, *Amiable*. King Henry I. negotiated a marriage between her and his illegitimate son Robert. The relatives consented, the lady refused, and the king condescended to argue the point with the beautiful and proud girl. "Sir, said she, you wish for my inheritance for your son more than for myself, nevertheless would it not be a shame for one nobly born like me to marry a man with one name." (For by this her children might be classed with the landless men of no family.) "My father was called Robert Fitz Aymon, I will therefore not be the wife of any man whose name does not tell from whence he springs."

"Right well do you speak, said the king,

Syre Roberd le fyz Haym,
was thy father's name,

Syre Roberd fyz le Roy,
shall be thy husband's." "This, she replied, is a fine name, (Robert the king's son,) and will do him honour, but how shall his children be called?" "Maiden, answered the king, (as seeing her reasonable objection,) Robert of Gloucester he shall be called, for I will create him Earl of Gloucester, and all who spring from him." [From an ancient ballad, quoted by Thierry—*Norman Conq.* b. 7.] This prejudice in favour of names is rooted in the nature of things here. In old times it was of more importance than it is now to preserve the family name unchanged. But even now an old family name is an inheritance not to be despised. It existed in Saxon times, as we see from *Brihtric Blac*, of Stowmarket, but the infusion of Norman blood into England increased the pride connected with it tenfold.

† *Monasticon*, 295.

* *Monasticon*, i. 284.

COMBS.

Clare, who had taken the Saxon's lands, and held very large possessions in England, gave it to the abbey of Bec in Normandy. The abbot soon filled the Clare canonry with black friars, and turned out the protestant or secular priests. In 1124 his son Richard removed them to Stoke by Clare.* Tooting in Surry, was given about the same time by this nobleman to the same foreign monks, who acted with a similar policy to the native priests.†

The town therefore possessed some great and powerful landed proprietors, whose protection was often in those days exerted merely to swell Saxon shillings into silver pounds, and who cared but little for either the souls or bodies of the people. Happily these days are gone, and the great landlord is a blessing to his estate.

COMBS. *The Count of Moreton*, a Norman earl, was the chief proprietor. *The Manor of Creeting* was granted by him to the abbey of Gresteine in Normandy. But this could only have been part of the parish, and others held there manorial rights. These foreign noblemen thus contributed to reward their firm friends the monks, who were the firmest friends of the Pope, and secured many masses for their souls.‡ Sub-tenants were numerous in all parts of the county, as in *Creeting* (Bosmere) where the Bishop of Bayeux was proprietor. Roger Bigot held under him. Gar (or Vitgar) under him, whilst Osgot was the freedman, or farmer actually living on the land in question (30 acres), having one cottage, one plough, eight swine, nine sheep, and one acre of meadow, and paying 12s. rent, equal to £27. Under him in Combs, as copyholder, was *Ulnoth*, a freeholder of the king's; a Saxon esquire of some rank. He had submitted and kept possession of his land. He had been a freeholder under Edward. He was a *copyhold tenant* under the count, and had 50 freeholders, with many cottagers, *maids* (slaves,) villans, and male slaves under him. He kept 200 acres in his own hands. Men ploughs, 2 mills, 121 sheep, and 16 wild swine, formed part of his stock. He kept also two horses, and thus furnished two men at

* *Tanner*, 509.

† *Ibid*, 538.

‡ *Ibid*—*Creeting*.

INVASION ON STOWMARKET.

arms to his lord for the king, armed with lance, sword, and full armour.

Count Brien, a Norman proprietor, had been the ante-proprietor (antecessor) of Count Robert, the Saxon is not mentioned. This was a wealthy manor and returned 10 lbs. of silver in king Edward's time,* but it was then rated at 30 lbs. The freeholders of Combs however were sturdy, and resisted such an increase, so that it could not be collected without a disturbance, (*non possunt suffrere sine confusione.*) Count Robert also had some of this spirit, for since he had received the manor he had paid no dues to the Hundred court. A certain man claimed his freedom in a mill upon the ground of former possession under Brien, but the Hundred on being appealed to said it never belonged to him.

One *Nigell* (a sad fellow!) a servant of Count Robert's, seized (*invasit*) on eleven acres of land, belonging to Stow church (*de Ecclesia Stow*), and added them to the manor of Combs, but at the time of the Survey he was dead and no one could or would answer for him. Whereupon the Hundred was examined, and they declared the land was given (*in Eleemosina Eccles.*) as a free or pious gift to the church. One would suppose then it was to be restored, but there appears no record of this kind, and though the land I dare say is in Combs, Stow church has it not.

The same Nigell! (*idem Nigell*) took away 12 socinmanni or small farmers,† who were before this time parishioners (*parochiani*) of the church of Stow, and added them to Combs, and they were then attached to the church in Combs. This likewise the Hundred affirmed to the Commissioners. I think these are the ancestors of the present small village near the bridge at the boundary of the two parishes.

FINBOROUGH. *Count Eustace*, a Norman noble, held the chief manorial rights.

The ante-proprietor was a Saxon nobleman named *Ingelric*, who appears to have been then alive, but he

* 10 multiplied by 3 equal to 30 multiplied by 15 equal to £450 now. Not so valuable as Thorna, which was £900.

† In giving English names to the tenants, servants, &c. in *Doomsday*, I have used only popular language. A *soceman* is not in all respects what our farmer is now.

FINBOROUGH—BUXHALL.

had now the aforesaid Count a lord over him. His nine cottagers which he had in king Edward's days were gone. He had however two bond maids and seven freeholders, but seems to have been much impoverished, yet they raised his rate from 50s. to 100s.

Roger de Otterville, a Norman knight, held land under *St. Aldred*, a Saxon sainted bishop of Worcester in the time of king Canute. The chief rent was paid to his monastery or church, the rest belonged to the knight. As a tenant under this Norman, *Levesen*, a Saxon freeholder held 200 acres of land, and had 18 small freeholders under him. He had been a tenant of *Gutwands*, a great Saxon or Danish proprietor who was dispossessed. The family of Lawson are still living in respectability in this parish.

A freedman of Count *Witgar*'s also lived here.

There had been an invasion of the king's rights in this parish, and some manorial land which he claimed had got into the hands of Earl Moreton. *Robert Arbal* was a tenant under him. Roger Bigot at this date (1086) could show a good title to it "by the king's hand." It amounted to 16 acres.

BUXHALL. *Ingeblie*, the Saxon proprietor of Finborough held 150 acres of land here under *Count Eustace*, one of the Norman nobility. He had some cottagers on his land. Two minor tenants, one bond-maid, 40 sheep, and 11 goats. They raised him from 40s. to 80s. of silver, i. e. they just doubled his quit rent. There was a great Saxon noble of this name, who with his brother Girard about the year 1068 endowed the monastic college of St. Martin le Grand in London, where the post-office now stands. It is not improbable that this may be the person mentioned as residing at Finborough, and as having held the lordship there before the invasion of the Normans.*

Roger Bigot,† was a lord of a manor here.

Roger Pictauisensis, and under him *Leswin Croc*. He was one of the ancient tenants of the Saxon lord, and held at this time 200 acres of land, 4 cottagers, 16 acres of meadow, half a mill, 2 woodmen, 1 bond-

ONEHOUSE.

maid, 16 swine, 30 sheep. He paid 60s. quit rent, and had sac and soc in the hall.

A Norman soldier, the son of *Taudred*, had added to the manor 3 freedmen and 24 acres of land; but it is not said by what process. Most likely he took it from his neighbours.

Frodo, the Abbot's brother, who was half-brother to the king had 25 freeholders in the parish holding 350 acres of land. They had been made free by Frodo. The rent was raised on them from 60s. to 100s.

ONEHOUSE. *Withmer*, a Saxon proprietor of a middling class who could sell his land, but it had been held under king Edward.

Here again we meet with the Nigell family, (an encroaching race!) for one *Nigell* had got hold of 9 acres of land which a freedman claimed. This Nigell claimed to hold them under his lord, Robert the Count, but Frodo then disputed the title. No one in the Hundred knew any thing about it. (*sed Hundredus nescit*.)

A freedman had 50 acres and 3 cottagers from St. Edmund, king and martyr, in whose honour Bury St. Edmund's arose, by the gift of king Edward, for which they shewed to the Commissioners, his deed and seal, they retained their possession under the Abbot of St. Edmund's (Bury.) The bailiff of king William claimed from one of them 4s. quit rent. "And whether justly or unjustly neither the Abbot nor his servants can tell. And the Hundred say they do not know whether St. Edmund was deseized of this after king Edward had given it." The abbot of Bury at this period was Baldwin who presided over that splendid structure, and the fraternity of indolent, pious, learned, and ignorant men, collected in such a vast establishment. He witnessed a variety of changes in his country. He would have trembled for the abbey in those unlicensed times, if William had not made it a point of conscience to preserve the monastic property of the church, whilst he forfeited the lands of the secular clergy and the Saxon population with unsparing hand.*

* *Tanner*, 296.

† Bigot's arms were lions salient, not indescriptive of their bearer.—*Camden*.

* *Monasticon*, 295.

PEVERELL.

Ketel, a thane (*Tegnus*) or nobleman of king Edward, held under *Ralph Peverell* a Norman knight. His superior lord now was a foreigner, and an adventurer, his former lord had been the king. He had 8 cottagers, 4 slaves, 150 acres of arable, 2 ploughs for oxen, 1 of men, 12 acres of meadow, 87 sheep, 22 goats, 30 swine, and 2 freeholders of 60 acres under him. They rated him at 50*s.* being five more than he had before paid. A yeoman of this name had been living until of late in this parish a descendant of the Saxon noble. His family are now removed to Offton and settled there. This Peverell's wife named *Ingelrica*, was a most beautiful woman, had been a concubine to the king, and she founded a college of secular canons (married priests) at Hatfield Peverell in Essex. Her son changed them into a priory of Benedictine monks under the abbot of St. Albans in Henry the first's reign. In this manner guilt was often cheapened and heaven set at a price by Romish teaching.* Another Peverell called *Pain*, was standard bearer to William, and a brave warrior; he might be the father of the proprietor of Onehouse.† He founded a priory in Barnwell, Cambridgeshire for 30 canons of St. Austin. Another *Wm. Peverell* endowed in Northampton an abbey of black canons.‡ This man was probably the son of the Onehouse Peverell's wife by the king, and took his name. He also built a priory at Lenton, in Nottinghamshire.

In the time of king Edward in this parish 26 acres belonged to the church of Stow, (*pertinebant ac. xxvi. in Ecclesiam Stou.*) One *Osbert (masculus)* a little fellow or dwarf perhaps, held them now under R. Peverell, whereas before he held them under the church of Stow as one of its tenants. I am sorry to say this *third* invasion of the Stow church is like the previous ones without a remedy at present. But if the descendants of Peverell, still in Derbyshire; of De Montfort, Dukes of Britanny and Counts; and of the Earl of Morton, should wish to restore what their ancestry took from the presbyter (now the vicar) of Stowmarket, the then vicar will we may

* *Tanner*, 121.

† *Ibid*, 41.

‡ *Ibid*, 377.

SHELLAND—HARLSTON—WETHERDEN—HAUGHLEY.

conjecture be happy to receive the acres back again for the church.

SHELLAND. *The Abbot of Bernay* held the lordship of this small hamlet, and his tenant was a person named *Sind*, with 4 cottagers, 2 oxen, and 23 acres of land.

HARLSTON. The abbey of Bury (or St. Edmund,) was the great proprietor. *Aelons* was the tenant under Peter the Abbot. He had 2 villans, 11 cottagers, 2 slaves, and 11 free labourers. I think these last from the mode of expression, must have been the children of the above classes, whom the clergy of the monastery had freed as they were born.

WETHERDEN. The abbey of St. Edmund the manorial lordship.

Radulf had 50 acres, and *Ernulf* 40. They were Saxons.

Hugh de Montfort, manorial rights.

Gutmund, a Danish landholder, (from his name,) turned out by *Hugh*.

Theoderic (Teodric) a Saxon, turned out or killed. *Walter*, a deacon, had his land.*

HAUGHLEY. *Hugh de Montfort* held the lordship. Under him held *Gutmund* a Dane. Before the Norman civil war he held the manor of the king. He then had 800 acres of arable land. His villans had diminished from 32 to 30; his slaves from 6 became 3; he had 8 cottagers; his men ploughs had decreased from 24 to 8; he had wood for 200 hogs and 42 acres of meadow. The church was then in his gift. Six horses were kept in the hall of the lord; 18 bond maids and 60 hogs. The surveyors always put the maids and swine close together; bond-maids were little better, in their coarse estimation of females, than porci. The Norman nobility had a profound contempt for the whole of the lower orders. But not so the Saxons and British.

Hervey, Radulf, Turold, Pesserer, Robert, Richard, are also holders of land in the parish.

NEWTON. *Roger Pictauicensis* the manorial lord.

Als or *Alse* had 2 freeholders there in the time of king Edward. The same Saxon had 2 others holding

* ii, 427.

NEWTON—DAGWORTH—GIPPING.

80 acres of land, but *Roger Bigot* then held them as his tenants from the Bishop under *Roger Waring*. One cottager, in former times two; one plough, formerly one and a half; three acres of meadow; two bond maids; six hogs and forty sheep. The quit-rent was raised from 30s. to 40s.

Hugh de Montfort manorial rights, and under him *Alwin of Mendlesham* a Saxon proprietor formerly, now a copyholder. For the stock, land, &c. in all the parishes, see the agricultural table, chap. VI.

DAGWORTH. *Hugh de Montfort* the lordship, and under him seven freeholders who formerly were tenants to *Gutmund*. Hugh had taken part of his possessions from him, and part were left in Haughley. Six farmers also were in this parish but belonged to the manor of Thornea.

Breme a freeholder of king Edward's. A small Saxon gentleman who was killed at the battle of Hastings, (*qui fuit occis. in bello Hastingensi.*)^{*} He had a freeholder under him who held 11 acres and 1 cottager. A family of this name were some short time since living in the parish as labourers on the lands which had been forfeited by the unfortunate bravery of their ancestor.

This estate of Breme's was then held by *William Fitz Grosse*.

King William had a freeholder here. *Teri*, the ante-proprietor of one *Bartheton*, held half of him and *Gutmund* another half. He could sell his land without their license; he had 60 acres. The family of Terry are still known as connected with the Hundred from their Saxon ancestor.[†]

GIPPING—RODEHA. The Bishop of Baiocensis held the manorial lordship. A proprietor named *Saxo* was the original holder under *St. Aldred*. *Roger Bigot* held it from the Bishop, and under him *Radulf de Sauiniaco*. It was only worth 2s. This *Saxo* had very large possessions before the Conquest in Stonham and Debenham where he probably resided. One of the principal roads in Stowupland leading from Stowmarket towards Stonham, formerly

UPLAND—CREETINGS.

a broad-way green and bordered with trees, is called still and is described in all the old deeds as *Saxham street*—that is, *Saxo ham*—Saxo's home street. I conjecture that this road-way was made by the great land holder from his seat (or *ham.*) in Stonham to Stow, and bore his name, and still in connection with Doomsday-book reminds us of his former residence and existence. *R. de Savigni* or *Sauiniaco** succeeded to the greatest portion of Saxo's estates.

UPTOWN OR LAND. *Hugh de Montfort* was lord. And 3 freedmen of Gutmund's held 63 acres, but of course were then tenants of Hugh. Three cottagers had existed, then there was but one. One mill, of which the Earl of Moreton claimed the half, and the Hundred affirmed his claim to be right. It was worth 12s. The manor of Thorney extended as far as Thornea Green (still called so,) and thus up-town, or ult-land, or up-hill, was much smaller than it is now. Thornea being three miles long and three broad embraced the greater part of both Stowmarket and Stowupland present parishes.[†]

TWO CREETINGS. *Count of Moreton* (de Moritania) the lord.

Ulnoht a freeholder of king Edward's. I think the same person who *lived* at Combs, but his name is mis-spelt by the clerk. He had 100 acres; half a man plough on it, &c.

St. Mary de Gresten, a Norman monastery, had soc and sac in the land.

Robt. Malet a Norman manorial lord, who founded a priory of Benedictine monks at Eye. The abbey of Bernay in Normandy held it as a cell, and so it was alien, but Richard the 2nd made it a denizoun, or naturalized it, and so it remained till Henry the 8th seized them all.[‡] From *Malet* held *Robert de Glanville* all the land which *Le Win* a freeholder of *Edric* the original Saxon lord or thane held. Both *Le Win* and *Edric* were either dead or at all events dispossessed. Two horses had been kept on this land but there were none at the survey. The rent was raised from 20s. to 30s. A socman holding three

* Doomsday, 417.

† The miles in the D. league are much shorter than ours.

‡ *Tanner* 510.

* See chapter V.

† ii, 427.

MALET.

acres of ground had forfeited his land. He had neglected to fulfil his services or pay his rent. His holding of three acres may give some idea of the smallness of some of the tenants.

The patronage of the church in one of the Creetings was given by king William to the abbey at Hastings. To this also was added the church at Mendlesham, and part of the feud or landed property of Brictric, a presbyter, one of our Saxon proprietors. Churches were thus granted without the manor, which proves that the church patronage did not always reside in the manor, but was often distinct and disunited from it.* This custom was not an innovation, but part of the common law of the Saxon times. The advowson was a distinct property in itself and might be held by females as well as men.†

Aluric, the son of Briene, had one freeholder under *Visgar* in the time of king Edward. At this time *William de Boville* held this portion of land from the Bishop. There were however many persons having land there (*sed plures ibi tenent*), who are not named, because they were small nameless men. Such names as Carter, Carpenter, Smith, and many others, were applied to all men exercising these trades, and in time each man took his occupation as his name, having none other but the Christian one given at baptism.

The *Abbot of Bernay* held a manorial lordship in the parish. His land belonged originally to the feud of *Harduin*, a Dane or Saxon, who had been dispossessed.

Gosfrid de Magna Villa, a Norman lord. This name became Mandevill. His son was created Earl of Essex, and founded at Saffron Walden a priory of Benedictine monks in the year 1136. It afterwards became an abbey of considerable value.‡ This earldom of Essex was formed by Maud daughter of Henry I. This is the most ancient charter of an earl's creation in existence.|| And by it he had also the third penny out of the sheriff's

MANDEVILLE—DE VERE.

court of pleas held in the county as his fee. So also Henry II. created one of our Bigods, Hugh, Earl of Norfolk, and gave him the third penny as a fee out of the courts of Norwich and Norfolk. The first earl was buried in the Temple church at London. His father, (the Gosfrid of Creeting,) possessed 118 lordships in England. His son the earl ravaged and destroyed all the surrounding country in the reign of Stephen, against whom he carried on a rebellious warfare. Wherever there was a royal manor, as in Stow, there he came or sent his soldiers and destroyed the property, seizing the cattle, carrying off the money, and murdering the inhabitants or tenants who did not save themselves by flight. When he was about to die the walls of the church where he lay sweated blood, which was considered to be a divine attestation of wrath against him for his wickedness.* He was married to Rosia de Vere, a lady celebrated for her extraordinary piety and ascetic devotion. He was also entitled to bear the king's standard in battle.

Witgar, a freeholder of the Abbot of Ely, had formerly held the ground in these parishes, but Gosfrid had it by a strong title in those days, (*ex dono Regis*), by gift of the king. As his tenant *William de Boville*, *William of Oxtown*; the name was probably a joke. *Ansgar* was the original Saxon thane whom Gosfrid had succeeded. Two horses were still kept here (*in halla*) in the hall.

The land of *Galt* of St. Waleric.

Aluric, a freedman of Edric's the original proprietor. Aluric still held as tenant, but Edric was gone. Wood sufficient to feed 16 swine had also been destroyed since 1066, when the table represents the stock, population, and land. A freedman of Galt's holding ten acres was named *Tholi*.

Thus we are presented with a list of the ancient proprietors and many of the tenants in the Hundred of Stow in 1086, with an account of some of those changes which had occurred during the revolutionary war of twenty years that had passed from the landing of William to the time of the Survey. The

* *Monasticon*, i, 317.
† *Tanner*, 127.

‡ See appendix No. 1.
|| *Camden*—decrees.

* *Hoveden. Annales*. 488.

CLERGY.

information will suggest many reflections upon the evils of civil war, the necessity of a united nation, the mercy of God in arresting the dangers of a disputed succession from us, and grateful thanks for the peace and blessings we enjoy.

The clergy who held land and are mentioned by name in the Hundred are—*Monulf* and *Walter*.* Monulf was a copyholder of 70 acres, held under St. Aldred's church, but one *Williams* then had it, and the clergyman was dispossessed. His name has a *Sexo-Danish* sound. He may have had the church of the Hundred, (*Ecclesia Stow*), at Thorna in the royal manor, as in those times there were many deacons in the neighbouring churches to one presbyter. And presbyters are enumerated in the different counties in the great survey as forming part of the population and proprietary on the estates. In many cases where a presbyter is named there is no church mentioned, because the church was destroyed or none had been built. And where churches are mentioned there is little reference to presbyters. I suspect that whoever held this church at Thorney had made himself obnoxious to the ruling powers, and therefore the Normans did not hesitate to seize its land. One hundred and thirty-eight acres are stated to have been taken from it. But no apology or remark is made on

* This Walter had a house in Norwich. His son Ranulf received a ruined house there also from the king.—*Norf.* 117.

CLERGY.

the subject, as if a just punishment had befallen it for the loyalty of its presbyter to Harold. Twenty-four acres were restored by Hugh de Montfort, but as if to mark the punishment of the mother church he gave them to the chapel of ease. I think the Saxon feeling against the Norman line on the throne was very strong in the Hundred from the numerous forfeitures recorded, and this will account for the loss of the land by the church of the Hundred. Some of the churches in Suffolk were maltreated in the same way, but none that I have observed to the same extent, for this church it seems was left without land as none is recorded.

The intermixture of blood and nations is not the least curious subject in examining the details of history. Many families now may find their original stirs or root in distinct races. As an instance familiar to the author—A castle in Cheshire derives its Saxon name of Hollingwort from the abundant wood of the holly-trees found in this place, perhaps by the first Saxon chief who settled there. He takes his name from it, and afterwards arms—three leaves proper of holly, on a bend, with fields of different colours, and motto *semper eadem*. The family divide into three distinct branches. One of them in the 18th century, marries Martha Karr, daughter of A. Karr, Esq. of Highbury Grove, who was son of Dr. Karr, state physician to the Duke of Athol, in the Isle of Man: who was son of Rev. A. Ker, eldest male of John Ker, of Fernlie; who was eldest male of Ker of Cessford; from whom the Dukes of Roxburgh proceed. Thus two races mingle Saxon and Norman. Another Norman was added in the mother of Martha, who was Martha de Vere, of Aubrey de Vere, of Essex, first Earl of Oxford. The son of this Samuel and Martha Hollingworth (the writer) marries Margaret de Montfort, descendant of the Hugh afterwards Earl of Leicester, mentioned in this chapter.

John Ker of Cessford | Earls of Roxburgh, and Ralph Marquis of Lothian (E. in 1616)

Norman.

| Ker of Fernlie

Norman.

| Rev. A. Ker, of Wigton (1700)

Norman.

| Dr. A. Karr or Ker

Norman and Celtic by his Wife, a Christian of Isle of Man.

A. G. Karr, Esq. marries Martha de Vere, descendant of 1st Earl of Oxford

Norman.

Martha a daughter, marries to
Samuel Hollingsworth, R. N.

Norman and Saxon.

Arthur a son, marries Margaret de Montfort, descendant from 1st Earl of Leicester

| *Saxon and Franco-Norman.*

Similar results may be traced in hundreds of families who will be at the little pains to examine their pedigrees. The ancient family of Hollingsworth held a manor in Hollingsworth for many generations, under the Lovells and afterwards under the Wilbrahams. "Lyson's Cheshire." The old hall continued in the family until 1800.

INGULPH—DOOMSDAY.

I cannot conclude this portion of the history without an extract from Ingulph upon Doomsday.* And here let me express my sorrow that I am obliged to cast aside so many morsels of historical information connected with Stow Hundred and the county. The limits assigned by the publishers to the work are most liberal, but not sufficiently extensive to embrace the whole. Those only who have attempted to search can form an adequate idea of the great variety of minute particulars which exist in connection with every parish in the kingdom, and they will pardon my omissions. My respected publishers have allowed me an extended page, and I must on my own responsibility exceed even this allowance. I can only therefore select and take after a few more pages, from the old papers in the Stow town chests, those facts which though not new, yet are found in manuscripts not hitherto examined.

* *Ingulphi Historia*, M. Croyland.

INGULPH—DOOMSDAY.

Totam terram descripsit; nec erat hida in tota Anglia, quin valorem ejus, et professorem suum seivit; nec lacus, nec locus aliquis, quin in regis rotulo extitit descriptus, ac ejus redditus, et preventus, ipse possessio, et ejus possessor regis notitia manifestatus juxta taxatorum fidem, qui electi de qualibet patria territoriorum proprium describant. Iste rotulus vocatus est rotulus Wintonie, et ab *Anglicis* pro sua generalitate omnia tenementa totius terrae integræ continentis DOMESDAY, cognominatur. Talem rotulum, et multum similem ediderat quondam rex *Alfredus*, in quo totam terram Angliae per comitatus, centurias, et decurias descriperat, &c. In illo vero rotulo (scil. Domesday.) Wintonie sic maxime vocato, eo quod ad illius rotuli exemplum editus erat, descripti sunt non tantum totius terre comitatus, centuriæ, et decuriae, sylvae, silvæ, et villes universæ; sed in omni territorio quot carucatae terre, quot Jugera, et quot acreæ, quæ pascua et paludes, quæ tenementa, et qui tenentes continebantur. He describes his labours in examining this book in the following terms. But in our times those who have thus laboured (Sir Henry Ellis and others,) enable modern enquirers to move upon a broad highway of comparatively agreeable examination. Adivi ego ipse tunc *Londonias*, et haec tenementa nostra (Croyland) de utroque rotulo predicto, vulgariter ab *Anglicis* cognominato DOMESDAY, excepta multa studio ac non parvis sumptibus, statui meis posteris. He speaks of his collections, as collected succincte de tam confusa massa tot abdita et tam dispersa collegerim.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON MARKET TOWNS AND ON THE MARKET IN STOW HUNDRED—ITS ORIGIN AND FORTUNES, WITH THE FAIR, FROM A.D. 1000 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE SURVEY.

THE most authentic volume from which a description of the marketable condition of any part of the country may be ascertained in the year 1086 is Doomsday-book. In consulting it we also ascertain the condition of every parish in the Saxon times to a certain extent. Money however, or monies'-worth was the object of the Survey: and therefore it is the least poetical book, except a ledger, in the world. All its details are dry statements, and even the morsels of precious historical information which are scattered incidentally through the work, are to be found there only because they are connected with taxation or rent, service or profit to lord or king in

THE SURVEY.

some shape or other. Still this rule supplies much that we want to know; for population, (in the heads of families,) stock, churches, plough-lands, woods, fisheries, and *markets*, were all sources from which the king or his great tenants drew their incomes, and by which the country prospered and became rich. But mountains, rivers, lakes, and old battle-fields, with a thousand romantic histories, are things which the pages of Doomsday discard with as much care as a merchant's ledger will exclude poetry or history. It is a book of figures, hard facts, and money.

Where any remarkable object in a parish, as a river, was subject to toll, it is mentioned. But an

MARKET DUES.

old Roman encampment like that at Haughley in the Hundred, does not deserve a single Latin contraction, because it was not a source of profit to the government. Wherever a market existed it is stated these marts became generally the foundation of towns. The dues from them were a valuable source of income to the king or nobility who held them. The market here must have been of some value to Roger Bigot, although it is now impossible to ascertain the exact amount received for market dues in the 40 lbs. of silver per annum at which the whole manor was valued. The population was then about 500, and it was a place of more importance than Framlingham, Woodbridge, and some other towns which obtained notoriety and existence at a later period. The manor appears to have been divided between A.D. 1066 and A.D. 1086. For in *Doomsday* (see chap. X) it is said that when the manor was undivided (*hoc manerium cum integrum fuit,*) it produced a smaller revenue than at the period of the Survey. This division may refer only to those parcels of ground lying in the neighbouring parishes, some of which appear to have been severed from it during the troublesome twenty years of civil war preceding the great Survey. Market towns were not numerous at this period, and the erection of new ones was viewed with considerable jealousy by the proprietors of the more ancient. Whilst from various facts, their establishment appears to have been a part of the royal prerogative. Thus in Ca'rahallam (*Biscopes H. Suffk.*) R. Bigot held the parish as a manor. Norman, his principal tenant, had 35 freedmen, who could sell or will their land, having 300 acres and one market by the king's grant, (*in un'. mercat'. de dono regis.*) The manor in the hands of these freed men, including the market, was worth 23 lbs. of silver, which as it was a large sum, proves that the tolls and market dues, and therefore the resort of people to it were considerable.

The market towns mentioned in Suffolk in *Doomsday* as existing in the year 1086, are

Beccles—which was also a borough, or burg.

Tornai or *Tornéa*—*Mercatus Sto*, the market of the Hundred of Stow, now Stowmarket.

MARKETS IN SUFFOLK.

Eye—a borough.

Sudbury—a borough, and a mint.

Clare—a borough.

Carahallam, a place of some importance in Biscopes Hundred.

Hoxne—the Bishop of Norfolk and Suffolk's residence (he was then called Bishop of Tetfort, or Thetford.)

Ipswich—a borough, with mint workers.

Haverhella—*Haverhill*.

Blideburc—which had belonged to Edward the Confessor.

There may have been others of less note, but if so, they were insignificant and of no importance, being merely the efforts of private persons to secure the advantages of a mart in their neighbourhoods. Even this however is improbable, because being part of the king's rights, the attempt to establish a market without his permission would have been visited with punishment.

In *Dunwich*, no chartered market is recorded, but it was a large place. 120 burgesses existed in 1086, and 142 paupers; they paid 60,000 herrings as part of their dues to the king. (311) Burgers in the different towns were sometimes held as tenants by the great landlords, to whom they paid arbitrary dues or fines, and were obliged to do as they wished, and in aftertimes to vote as they liked (314, R. Malet held one burg' de Gipeswic.) In *Sutburna* (*Plomesgate H.—Sudbury,*) there was an acre of ground in the borough (*in burges-gata*) which let for three pence annually. (316.) The market at *Eye* was recently formed, it had not been in existence in the time of Edward the Confessor. 25 burgesses lived in the market-place. There was here also a park and large fish-pool. In *Carahallam* (*Hoxne Hund.*) *Carleton*, there was a market in 1086, (*de dono regis*) by the grant of William, (330) but it came to disuse. *Beccles* had a market, and the lordship of the town belonged to St. Edmund. 26 burgesses existed in this town, and the abbot enjoyed three parts of the market dues, and the king (William) the other fourth. The tenants in the manor also paid in 1066 30,000 herrings, but in 1086 it was raised to 60,000.

BURY—CLARE—IPSWICH.

(369) *Southwold* also returned 25,000 herrings to the monastery for the food of the monks, and the abbot held the half of a wier, (*heiemaris*,) and the fourth part of another, for the same purpose. *Bury* had no market by charter, but a sale of some commodities was doubtless carried on there, although from these monasteries possessing every thing within themselves, they were not places that encouraged an assemblage of buyers and sellers. It contained 342 houses, which paid rent to the abbot; and they kept a guard of 34 soldiers in the town. Thirty priests and twenty-three clerical men daily offered up prayers to God for the welfare of the king and all Christian people, (*quotidie pro rege et omni populo Christiano deprecantur*.) There were also 80 minor brethren, and amongst them bakers, brewers, tailors, washermen, shoe makers, swash bucklers? cooks, a porter, a steward. Wherever men ploughs were numerous in parishes in 1086, we now find villages and towns, and the population preserves in most cases the same proportions as it did then. In *Clare* 43 burgesses existed. 480 sheep and 12 bee hives formed part of the stock on the manor, in which were 2400 acres under the plough. Five acres of vineyard also existed, and the market was by immemorial usage. The whole had been piously devoted to God, through the name of St. John, (the Romish way of teaching,) and a certain priest named Ledmarus had been placed in possession. The king however seized the whole for himself. (389) Burgesses in towns sometimes belonged to different churches, as at *Ipswich*, where five burgesses paid dues to the church of St. Peter, and six houses at the time of the survey belonging to the living were empty. Inns existed in the towns in Saxon times. Ranulf a Norman lord held the manor of Aluredstun (Hasketon?) and as part of its property an empty house in *Ipswich*, and one house of entertainment or tavern. (*hospitalitatis 424*.) A market existed in *Haverhill* which was frequented before the Conquest. The market dues were worth 13 shillings and 4 pence. Of this the third part belonged to Clarebold, but it would seem the whole was then vested in Tihell. de Herion. (427) In *Ipswich* (in 1066) there had been

DISPUTES.

808 burgesses paying dues to the king. But in 1086 the revolution had produced such miserable effects, from the town having been occasionally the actual seat of some of the civil contests of that period, that 110 burgesses only paid taxation. 100 poor burgesses existed "who could not pay a single penny" for their houses! and 328 houses were in ruins, (*mansiones vastati sunt*, 289, &c.)

It sometimes happened that a contest arose between neighbouring great proprietors for the establishment or possession of a market and fair. The pages of *Doomsday* disclose some of these disputes. At *Hoxne* "there was one market in the reign of Edward (A.D. 1066,) and since king William came to the throne it has been held in the same place. It was held on the Sabbath day (*et sedebat in sabbato*) Wm. Malet erected his castle there. And on the same day in which the market belonging to the manor of the Bishop was held, W. Malet opened another market in his castle, and by this so lessened the value of the Bishop's market that it was worth very little. Now it (the latter) is held on the Friday (*modo sedet die veneris*.) The market of the heia (Malets) is held on the Sabbath day. Robert now holds it (*de dono regis*) by king's grant."*

This extract explains how encroachments were made by the Norman barons on the rights of the old proprietors, and very frequently on those of the church. This method of attracting a conflux of people by the establishment of a market, and thus erecting a town and gaining tolls, will account for the attempt made in the year 1454 (or thereabouts) by the lord of the manor of Haughley to ruin the ancient market at *Stow*, and attract the custom of the neighbourhood to that village. The old inhabitants and the butchers especially (A.D. 1540) were however a determined race, and Saxon obstinacy in maintaining their right to sell to all the buyers in the surrounding country, showed itself in their going into the road leading to Haughley without entering the market and there underselling the lord's butchers. For this he seized and fined them; but in the end

* *Tract. Will. Epi. de Tetfort Biscopes H. 378, Sudful.*

HAUGHLEY.

they prevailed. Thus the Suffolk traveller's (Kirby*) mistake about the supposed antiquity of a market at Haughley is clearly explained, for no such market ever existed until this attempt was made to create one, which failed in this manner. The tolls from these markets were sometimes divided into several shares. (see page 66.) In this town the king as lord of this extensive manor held the market, and his chief tenant Roger Bigot received its tolls, making of them what he could, and paying a rent or fine to the crown for the whole. In some cases the proceeds of the market dues were yet more divided, as at Eye in this neighbourhood, where one of the great landlords in our Hundred gave the tenth of the market to the conventional church he established in the town. He also conveyed to the same fraternity a part of his burgage in the place, (*de burgagio meo in Eye;*) with one fish stew, (*cum vivario uno,*) where fish was bred, and out of which the ponds and neighbouring fishing places were stocked. By the same deed, a fair held for three days in Dunwich on St. Leonard's day, became part of their property with the schools in that town. (*scolas! etiam ejusdem villa.*†) This was confirmed by king Stephen in 1138, together with a fair held on four days in August, in which no one was to have any power but the monks and their men, on pain of forfeiting ten pounds. (357.)

In 1285, the highways between our different market towns were ordered to be 200 feet wide on each side from the centre of the road. This space of 400 feet was to be cleared of all low bushes and no trees were to be left standing but tall forest timber; so that no man "might lurk there to do mischief," or murder the passers by. Nothing was then done with the road but simply to preserve it as an open space, covered with green sward, where each passenger

* Kirby had heard of, but had probably never seen Doomsday. The Suffolk Traveller is unsupported by references to any documents.

† The reasons for the foundation which included the church of Eye dedicated to St. Peter, and a great variety of tithes, churches, manors, &c. are *Nam in sancta ecclesia virorum religiosorum precibus, illorum peccata qui eam edificant Dei misericordia diluntur.* (*Monasticon*, i, 356.)

ROADS.

might choose his own path. They formed in dry weather pleasant rides on horseback, but in winter for carriages and even horses they were almost impassable.*

1266] The pillory stood in the market place and was made of "convenient strength." Here culprits who offended and sold light bread or bad meat were brought, and twelve men sat as a jury upon them. No mercy was shewn to them if proved guilty, for their criminal deeds touched a part of the body most sensitive to wrongs and ill usage, and when the stomach complains the cause of the evil is sure of punishment. The bakers were obliged to stamp their loaves with their name, and make them according to the price of wheat in the market, of a certain weight for a certain price.† And if guilty, the brewer was placed in the tumbril and pelted, whilst the poor baker stood so many hours in the pillory for his misdeeds. The markets were under particular regulations, and itinerant justices went round and examined all the wine and ale measures lest the people should be cheated. The butchers also were well watched, and forbidden to sell any meat that died of itself. Neither could they dispose of flesh which they bought of Jews; for this unhappy people were sometimes believed to murder Christian men and sell their flesh. Each market also kept its own customs and laws, and those who sold outside the bounds of the town, or before the prescribed hour at which the market opened, were fined. Cook's-shops were not then uncommon in these towns.‡ The same judges could summon them into their presence, or enter and examine their cookery, ascertaining by the best of all tests—their own taste, whether it was good and "wholesome for the use of man's body." These shops are now replaced by our bake-offices.

1285] Merchants trading from foreign parts to the fairs were often cheated of their goods and money by the natives, and defrauded out of their just debts. But in this year the townwarden was directed to seize and on oath before the magistrates to imprison the debtors. A seal also was issued to each fair, which

* *Pickering's Statutes*, b. 1.
† M.S. Church Chest.

‡ *Ibid.*

MARKET SEALS.

was used in making out the deeds for the recovery of debts, and one was kept in the town, whilst a counterpart of it remained in the custody of a certain office in London. The seal of our fair would be a great curiosity now if it could be discovered. The only approach to it I have been able to make is perhaps a large seal attached to a deed in the reign of Henry the 7th, (1485) and having as its impress, the ass with the virgin and child with Joseph following, as a representation of the flight into Egypt. The deed is a joint trust of some of the inhabitants of both parishes in some property for the benefit of the parishioners.*

When the advowson of the parishes was transferred in the reign of Henry the First, A.D. 1120, to the ancient Abbey of St. Osyth, in Essex, the abbots became the lords of manors and markets, and stood in the king's place.† This right to the market in the abbot appears undisputed until the year 1348, in the reign of Edward the Third. A dispute then arose between Sir R. de Amondeville respecting the right to this market. The abbot pleaded at Westminster in a suit before the king, that he held the manor of Thorné (*in pura Eleemosyna*) as a purely simple devotion of the whole to God, from the king and his ancestors. He therefore had clearly the right of holding the market. The heir of Amondeville denied that the Bishop was lord, and asserted him only to be the rector, having a Grange (now Abbot's hall and formerly Stow hall,) possessing the advowson, but not exercising manorial rights. The abbot's plea in reply was, that the manor of Thorné included the hamlet of Stow, and therefore he must be lord of the whole, and this we see from Doomsday to have been correct. The reply of Amondeville was, that the manor of Stow included the hamlet of Thorne.‡ But the latter was wrong, and therefore a grant from the king re-possessed the abbey of St. Oayth of its rights as lords of Thorné to a market and fair in Stowmarket.||

* Stowupland Chest—see also Pickering.

† Pro aedoc. eccl. St. Mariae in Stowmercatis. (Tanner's Notit. Monast. 124.)

‡ Jermyn Papers, British Museum, Harleian M.S. 8168, Tanner, 123, 21 Ed. pro mercatu et feria apud Stowmercatis.

|| In 1341, a survey of the kingdom was made to apportion a subsidy or ninth of all the property for the govern-

FAIRS—BURY.

This is the first notice we have of the Fair, A.D. 1349. But it probably had existed, and was established by the abbey in 1284, (*circa*) on the enlargement of the church by this fraternity of Austin monks. It is held on St. Peter's day, (O. S.) to whom the church is dedicated, and was begun like many others as an annual commemoration of such a joyful occasion. It is not unlikely that the old churches were not dedicated to any particular saint. No names are mentioned in Doomsday. But on the improvement of the church to its present size, the smaller chapel was pulled down, and then a special dedication to St. Peter took place, and the annual holiday having been kept up from 1284 to 1349, in this last year it was established by a grant from the crown to the abbey. The market was an ancient right, derived from Saxon times long before the Conquest.

Fairs in different parts of the country in those early times were assemblages* of great importance to the merchants, traders, and inhabitants of more than half a county. The fair at Bury was a public resort for merchants from the whole county, and continued even till 50 years since to be a place where the careful housewives could obtain a supply of spices, silks, and other then luxurious commodities, which were not to be purchased so cheaply or so good elsewhere. In still earlier times, the fairs were marts of exchange and celebrated even beyond the seas. The fair of Troyes, in Champaigne, was frequented at one time by all nations in Europe, and the weight and standards of money used there, became famous over the whole continent.* So in Doomsday, in estimating the money value of an estate, different kinds of value are sometimes mentioned. This difference arose it is likely from the custom of the merchants trading to the different fairs from the different counties. In the Hundred of Stow and in the market, the money is termed (*libra blanca*,) or white silver pounds.

1331] Before the fair was opened, the abbot was obliged to proclaim how long it should continue, and

ment. In this record the abbot is described as rector (*persona*) of Stow St. Mary and St. Peter with the chapel of Gipping, and also of Old Newton cum Dagworth. Nonæ Stow H.

* Smith's W. of Nations, b. 1.

PRESENT STATE.

on what day and hour it would be closed. If any of the merchants kept their booths and stalls (*leur seudes et estaux*) open beyond this time, they forfeited double the value of the merchandize thus sold to the king.*

The fair at Stowmarket for a length of time continued to be one of these large marts, and was attended by a vast concourse of people. It was held in the *Camping land* opposite Abbot's or Stow hall, the residence of the superior of St. Osyth when he visited these places. Coins of various reigns have been found on digging in this piece of ground, and those of Edward the First, in whose reign the fair was first established are amongst them, and correspond with the date of the grant of the charter for the fair to the abbot of St. Osyth, who held the advowson and lordship of the parishes. Amongst this collection are pieces of money in many different reigns, with tokens in copper used by the different merchants who frequented the fair, or lived in the town. Those of Elizabeth are in excellent preservation, and some of the Commonwealth. Pence of the James's, many Flemish coins, and a few almost illegible older pieces of the Saxon times (perhaps) have been also found in this formerly celebrated place.†

At present the fair has degenerated into a mere assemblage of holiday folks, and much vulgar amusement, and is rightly deserted by the respectable classes of the community. Dealers in old-fashioned gingerbread kings and queens of stupendous proportions still attend, and sell these ancient loyal cakes covered with gold and pieces of red ribband serge pinned across them, whilst shops of Birmingham jewellery, and endless rows of dolls, with crockery sufficient to supply half a county, still linger on this ancient ground. But the bustle and commercial animation of the mart is gone. The Dutch and Flemish merchants no longer appear. The feast of the dedication of the church is kept on the 10th of July. It is a mere noisy collection of the labouring classes, and like most of those fairs is rapidly ap-

HOW OBTAINED.

proaching its final extinction. The land derives its name perhaps from the large assemblage of tents then collected and *encamping* together, (Camping land,) and was a piece of common ground belonging to the abbey, but after its dissolution became the property of the Improvisor. It is now claimed by the owner of Abbot's hall. The right of holding the fair belonged to the Improvisor as representative of the court and the abbot, and has been sold with the market dues.

In the times succeeding the Conquest, for several hundred years, the grants of markets by the crown to religious houses and other persons became very numerous. They were sources of respectability and profit to the monasteries and the noblemen or gentry that obtained them. They were sought for with considerable avidity; and their weekly bustle helped to vary the monotonous life of the resident baron. But the object of the crown in multiplying them, seems not to have been guided by any other principle than personal favour or money. It is likely, in some cases certain, that no grant of this nature was made without a corresponding present to the king. Thus in the reign of Henry the Third, (circa A.D. 1400,) a grant of a fair and market for such an obscure place as Battlesford in our neighbourhood, was made to the hospital of the knights of St. John in that parish.* The market in Woodbridge was not established till the reign of Henry the Sixth, (about 1430.) The choice of these marts was left to private persons, and no general rule appears to have regulated their existence, but that strong one of pecuniary or personal favour.

In ancient times (Doomsday passim) the Fairs were considerable sources of profit, and divided sometimes amongst different proprietors. Thus in Aspell, Hartismere Hundred, (A.D. 1086) Rad de Savigny one of the Stow lords held three parts of a fair. (*tria pars feriae*, 417) But no fair is mentioned as in existence in Stow.

In 1550 (Edward 6th) the abbey of St. Osyth with all its rights, venerable buildings, extensive lands,

* Pickering.

† All these coins are in the possession of Mrs. Rust, of Abbot's hall.

* Tanner, 522.

CIVIL WARS.

and advowsons, including the town of Stow, with its then hamlets of Gipping, Dagworth, and Newton, its market and fair, its manor and profits, were sold for a trifling sum of money to Sir Thomas Darcy, a courtier and knight, who was afterwards created a baron by the title of Lord Darcy of Chick. In the hands of his descendants and assigns the Market has remained. It has been severed from the rest of the property and sold and resold repeatedly.

[1611] The town was disturbed with wandering vagrants; disbanded soldiers; or idle beggars, and some disorders occurred at the fair. W. Wells, the constable of Stowupland, charged his parish 11s. *vid.* for his expenses "in apprehending, keeping, and conveyinge of certayne vagrantys ymedately after Stowe fayre." And as an uproar had been made and damage done, "ye clarke of ye markett charged 11*id.*" for some of his broken barriers, which the Hundred in all its parishes was bound to repair.*

[1630] An account was kept in a booke of "all the corne brought in uppon ye markyt daye," and a clerk of Sir John Poley's was paid by the wardens for keeping this record.†

During the civil wars of Charles the First, from 1641 to 1650, the town suffered for its loyalty and had to bear a very heavy taxation. Its trade diminished, and the market partook of that depression which pervaded the country. But at the Restoration, the spirit of commerce was revived throughout the nation, and the market began to be thronged with buyers and sellers. An order was then obtained from the County Sessions, "that none should have beseanes but in a taxin cart, and by the consent of sum officers of our towne."‡ The disorder attending an unlimited number of stalls, or the choking up of the streets by spreading out different wares upon them when shops were not so numerous as now, was thus avoided.

The ancient market cross no longer exists, and has been replaced by the humbler market pump. It re-

TRADE.

mained however to the late period of 1657, and as it belonged to the Improvisor, was it is likely, by him barbarously pulled down.* But rights and tolls still remain as relics of ancient royal grants, and abbey dignities, and kingly bargains. For many years it was attached and always sold with the impropriate rectory, but in more recent times it was sold alone, and now exists by itself in one proprietor.† Its value may be traced by its having been rated for a long succession of years to the relief of the poor. Before 1748, it appears in the overseer's books, and there was estimated at £14 per annum. At this rateable value it had remained for nearly thirty preceding years. But at this period, from a sudden influx of small-pox into the town, and great subsequent distress, it was rated and paid only on £10.‡ The trade of the town and concourse of people on market days had thus seriously declined, from the just apprehension which people entertained of this grievous and contagious disorder. So dangerous did the disease then become, that for a short time the farmers and merchants attended at Needham-Market, until in two or three years all apprehensions had ceased, and trade again resumed its old situation at the market-cross.|| Rates also were charged on the owner of the right in holding the fair, and therefore some dues must have been exacted from those who kept booths or stalls on the ground.§

So late as the year 1780, the old-fashioned mode of coming to market was maintained by the farmers, each having his good wife behind him on a pillion, with eggs and butter in a basket. And many *horsing blocks* stood in different parts of the town, with steps for the convenience of getting up or down from the saddle. One of these silent witnesses to a former state of society and to bad roads, remained some time after its brethren were removed in the Vicarage lane. Some of them were kept in repair by the town, as a minor attraction to thrifty wives in a large market, and others were repaired by the inn-keepers

* Stow Chest, Upland accounts.

† C. W's. accts.

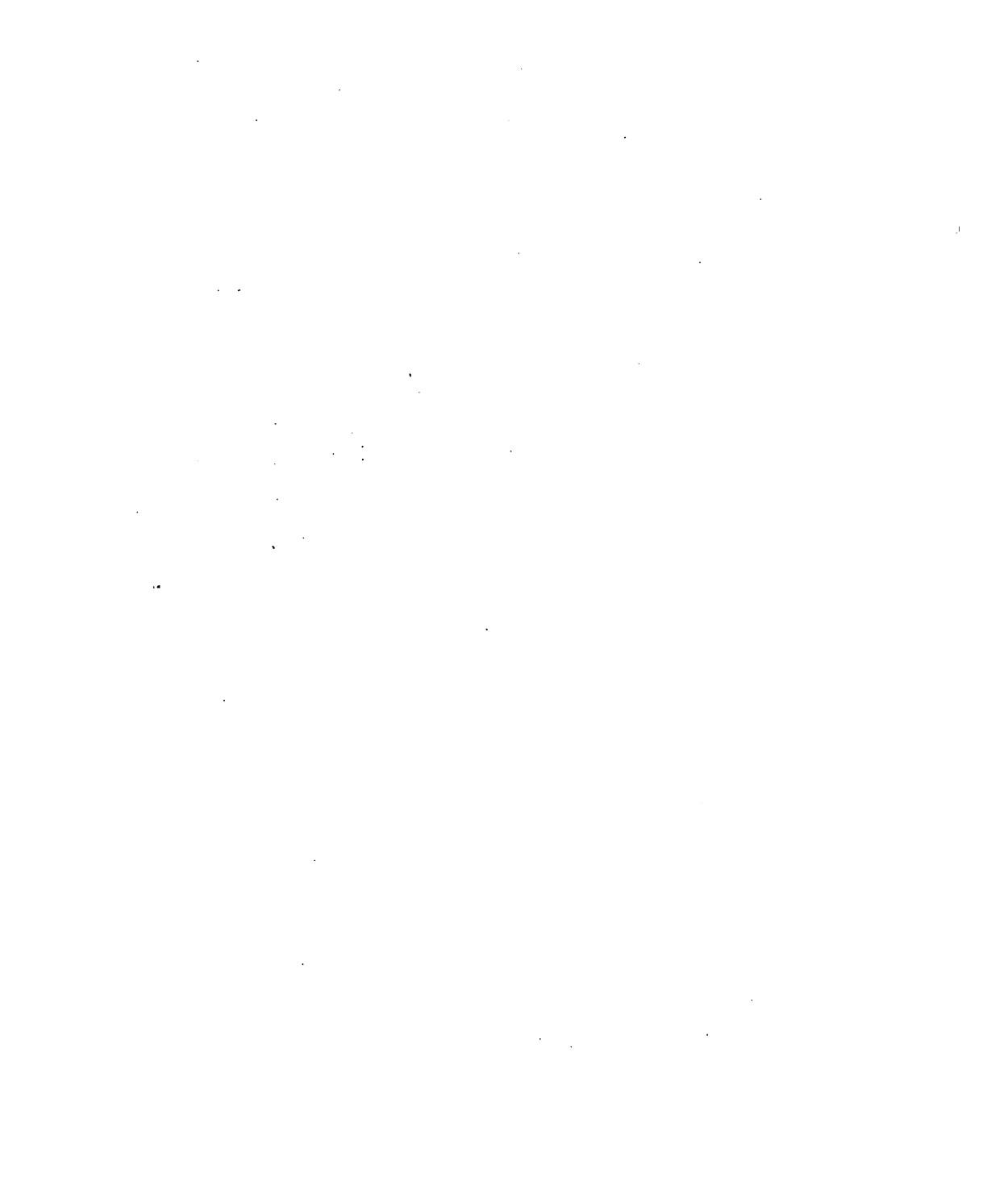
‡ C. W's. accts. 1663.

* "Mending the town gutter next the market cross. George Morden, C. W. 1657."

† Mr. Hunt.

‡ See Gen. Hist.
|| Mr. King, C. Warden 1843.

§ Church M.S.



S^T. PETERS & S^T. MARY'S CHURCH, STOWMARKET.

Litho'd by W. H. Worley, 1860.

Drawn by F. J. Gould.



STATE OF MARKET.

near whose doors they were placed as a recommendation to the house."

A large corn exchange with a town hall has been lately erected by shares, and accommodation is given for four or five thousand pounds to change hands, when trade is brisk in corn, every Thursday. Cattle of various kinds now attend it droves. Pigs grunt by the three hundred in the Greyhound yard. Sheep, cows, horses, and droves of forest ponies enliven the town. A great lamb fair is held on the 12th of August, at which twelve thousand stock may be seen.

* "Ah sir, we are now I suppose to look for rail-road stations in their places." R. Enefer, Parish Clerk, (father and grandfather for 100 years.)

PRESENT INNS.

The number of gigs and light vehicles attending each Thursday on an average of several market days amounts (1848) to 285, and of horsemen 120. The pig market commences at 12 o'clock; the corn and beast market at two. And travelling auctioneers, chapmen, fishmongers, and hawkers of various kinds increase the noise, whilst they tend to diminish the gains of the tradesmen in the town.

The present Inns, 1848.

King's Arms (origin 1660)	Queen's Head
King's Head	Rose (origin Edward IV)
Fox	White Horse (very ancient)
Duke's Head	Barge
White Hart (very ancient)	White Lion (very ancient)
Fox and Hounds	Pickercall (ditto) } over
Greyhound (very ancient)	Waggon & Horses } river
Tyrell's Arms	

CHAPTER XIV.

ON MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS IN GENERAL, AND THE MONASTERY OF ST. OSYTHE
IN ESSEX, A.D. 1076 TO 1843.

ST. OSYTHE PATRON OF STOWMARKET.

THIS abbey was the most ancient in the whole kingdom.* It had its origin in a nunnery dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, erected by Ositha daughter of king Frithwald, and married to Sighere king of the East Saxons. She lived there as a religious person, but was martyred by the Danes in the year 653, in one of their bloody ravages. Before the year 1118 Rich. de Belmeis, Bishop of London, built a house for canons in the same place, in honour of the same Apostles and Ositha, who was then canonized. The martyred queen now became Saint Osith, though she was doubtless one long before in paradise. And the monastery was inhabited by canons of St. Augustin, who were considered the living memorials of her piety and martyrdom. When Henry the Eighth dissolved the monasteries at the Reformation, this

ST. OSYTHE PATRON OF STOWMARKET.

abbey was endowed with £677 : 1 : 2, of annual revenues, and its lands, possessions, advowsons, and buildings, were granted first to Thomas Lord Cromwell, who fell from having too much talent and no noble blood, and after his attainder, the despoiling hand of Edward's government conveyed it with real estates in other places for £1500 to Sir T. Darcy, who was created a baron by the title of Lord Darcy of Chick.

The fortunes of this parish and its hamlets, as a royal manor and borough, is closely bound up with the monastery for several hundred years. So early as the reign of Henry the First, the churches of St. Peter and St. Mary in Stowe, and one statement says of another, called St. Paul, were granted to the abbey of St. Ositha. This grant was confirmed by Henry the Second; and again reconfirmed by Edward the First (A.D. 1290.) Henry gave

* *Monasticon*, v. p. 6.

CHURCH PATRONAGE.

the church of Stowmarket with all its chapels, lands, and every thing belonging to its rights and liberties, with soke, sake, thol, theam, and infangenethof, to the abbey. (*pro salute animæ meæ—Deo et Ecclesiæ S. O. de Chicke, &c.*)*. He also bestowed free warren in the lands of Birch and Stowmarket, with the privilege of hunting the hare and fox by two greyhounds and four beagles, with a prohibition against any one sporting in their manors unless leave was first obtained of the abbot. (*et duos leporarios et quatuor brachetas ad capiendum leporum et vulpem, et nullus in eis fuget, nisi per licentiam eorum.*)† He also transferred to them all his rights in bridges and highways, freed them from all military service, and only imposed the providing one soldier in time of war from Birch. The abbot thus became the patron of the living, and the manorial rights held by the king were granted at the same time. The two parishes, or hamlet of Thorney with St. Mary in the Stowe churchyard, and Stowmarket with St. Peter (and St. Paul?) were presented to separately for some years, and were held by two Vicars from 1311 to 1589, when Mr. Peagrim was presented to both by the Crown. Some confusion existed in the patronage from 1540 to 1607 or 8, when Mr. Richard How, the great clothier, became patron by purchase? and they have been as a united living in various lay and clerical hands from that period. The earliest names of vicars on record are Mr. Sym, of Haverhill, in 1270, and Mr. Rog, of Preston, in 1280. But these incumbents appear to have held all the churches and both parishes together. In 1311 occurs the first presentation to St. Mary's church and vicarage distinct from St. Peter, when Mr. Rog. de Quakcroft was presented by the abbot and society of St. Osyth. The offerings and fees at the church of St. Mary were valued at 12 marks, and the vicarage tithes at 5. The value of St. Peter's at 45, and of his vicarage at 8.‡

In the reign of Edward the Second, a further grant of a water mill (*de molendino aquatico*), in Stowmarket to the abbey was made by the king. And

ROYAL GRANTS.

having thus obtained the corn tithes, they now received the means of grinding them into bread. This mill it is likely is that situated at the bridge on entering the town from Ipswich, which belonged to the king as lord of the town, and is very ancient. Disputed however now arose between Sir—Amondeville who claimed under the king a part of the manorial rights and the abbey. The market rights were contested and exclusive possession of them asserted by both these parties. After several hearings before king Edward the Third, in 1348, it was solemnly determined by the crown, that the abbot should enjoy the sole privilege of holding the fair and market with the town itself, (*apud Stow mercatum*,) which became the property of the abbey, and had to acknowledge the monkish fraternity as its manorial lord. This was confirmed and enlarged by Henry the Fourth in 1405, who granted the manor of Stow hall in Stowmarket (or Abbot's hall thence called from the residence of the chief of the monastery,) to the abbey of St. Osythe. And in their hands it continued till the dissolution of these establishments in 1538 by Henry the Eighth.*

The ancient manorial rights of Thorné, which formerly extended at the Conquest as held by Edward the Confessor over both these parishes, were now divided. The manor of Stowmarket was created out of the former, and the relics of both remain to this day. Thorney the old manor of the Saxon times, is held by the Tyrell family; and Stow is held by that of Marriott.

These changes induced many alterations in the town, and had an influence on the surrounding parishes. Two if not three churches had existed, as we have seen, at the time of the Conquest. We find them in existence in 1270. But the present noble building owes its present form to the abbey of St. Osythe, and must have been changed to what it is in

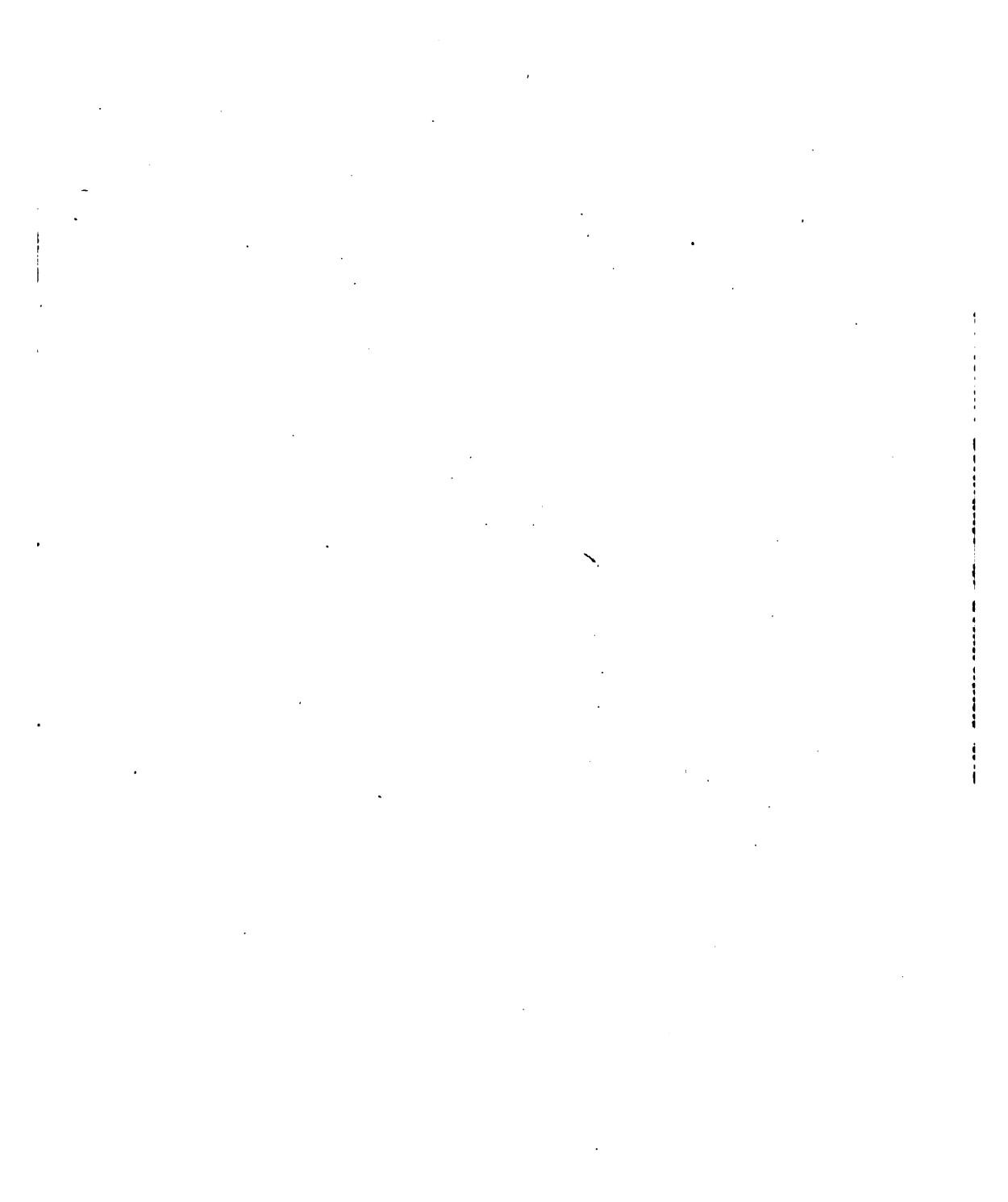
* The value in Henry VIII, is thus stated—

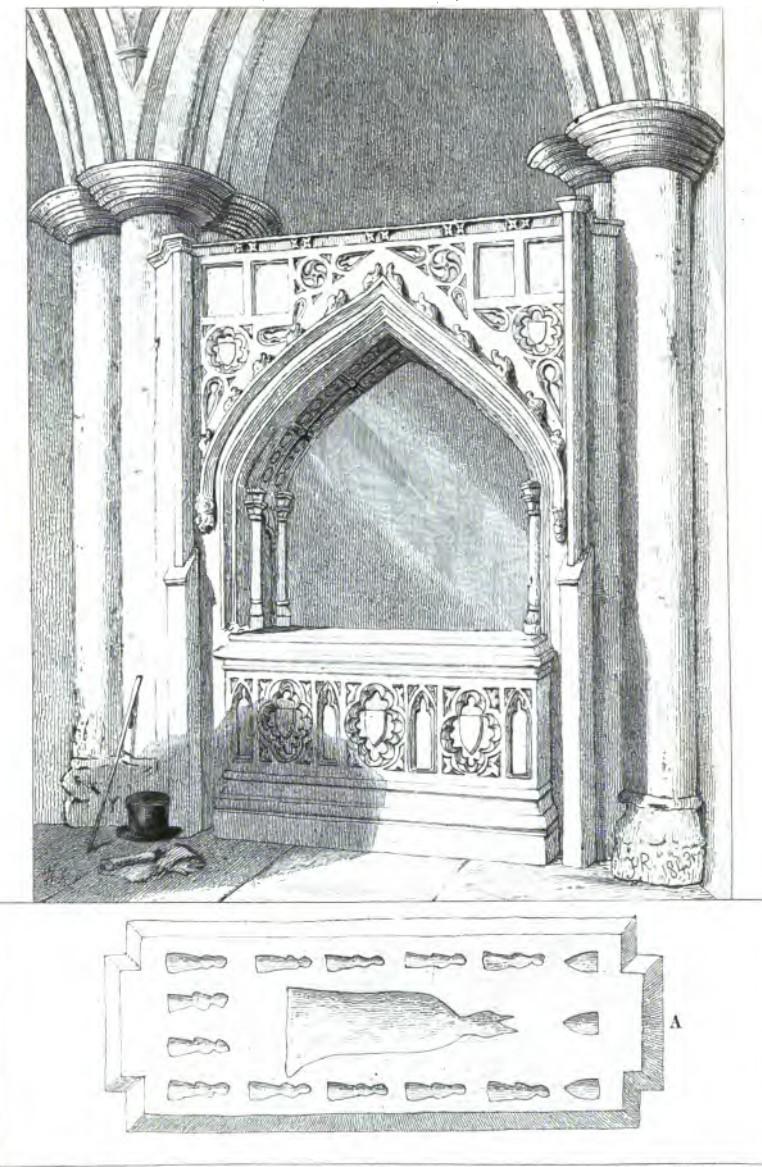
	£. s. d.
Com. Suff.	-
Stowmarket—Reddit'. assis'.	9 11 0
Stowmarket—Reddit'. mobil'.	0 4 5
Stowmarket—Opera. autump'.	0 1 6
Stowmarket—Firma. maner'.	23 0 0
<i>Monasticon.</i>	<i>About £131 : 7 : 8 in our money.</i>

* *Monasticon*, v, p. 6.

† *Ibid*, v, 6. See *Cowell's Interpreter*.

‡ *Norwich Registers*.





Drawn by S. Smith

Engraved by Wm. Hargreen

ABBOTS TOMB, STOWMARKET CHURCH.

A. *Shows in the upper side*

TOWN ARMS.

the reign of Edward the Third, or about the year 1380. One account* makes the foundation of St. Mary's church to be in 1478; and this is probably correct, if the chancel was dedicated to her, when her church was taken down in the yard, and the rectorial tithes now belong to this portion. The whole edifice bears evidences of two periods of architecture, yet both are made to harmonize with each other. The windows (*oculi Eccles.*) are very beautiful, and their tracery so varied, that no two are exactly alike.† It is in the richly decorated style of architecture, and built on the cathedral model, having possessed a choir, ascent to it, (*gradatorium.*) nave, aisles, and other parts of a monastic designed edifice, where the services were conducted by a large number of choral priests and assistants. The arms also of St. Osythe, adopted by the monastery to honour her memory, which are three bloody crowns on a gold field, were taken as the arms of the church. They were placed in brass on the abbot's tomb. And this monument, though now robbed of its brasses, still preserves the outline of the monks and nuns who supported the recumbent brazen figure of that Abbot, in whose time the church was completed, as may be seen in the annexed plates.

Deeds and documents in ancient times were of no value unless a seal was attached. Armorial bearings were then of great importance not only on this account, but as they were confined strictly to those who had a legal right only to bear them, they served like hand writing now, to identify in a more solemn manner the acts of each person or corporation. Each family obtained them by grant from the crown, and none had them who were not esquires, and none assumed them without some legible meaning connected with their origins or fortunes. The bloody crowns spoke of the painful death of the pious virgin queen,

SEALS.

the gold shield of her rich inheritance in heaven. Their form is most ancient, and it is not unlikely retains the shape of the crowns worn by the Eastern kings of the Saxon Heptarchy; for Bury St. Edmunds has the same shaped crown, in remembrance of king Edmund's martyrdom by the Danes, with two arrows piercing each crown, because by these weapons he was killed.*

The seal of an abbey or town like this, and other similar places, was kept under three locks and keys in the church chest. The three keys were retained respectively by the patron, the minister, and the civic authorities. The three locks still remain on our chest, but the importance of the seal has been lost in the dissolution of the abbey. When this event occurred, the silver seal of each monastic building was ordered to be broken in pieces by the king's commissioners. Their last melancholy office was to impress the seal on the deed of resignation by which they gave up their lands and churches into the hands of the king, under the authority of parliament. This mournful office was performed by the Abbot of St. Osythe and twenty of the brethren, whose signatures are attached to the parchment which acknowledged the king's supremacy, and bears for the last time the arms of the church. This surrender was made on the 28th of July, 1539.†

"An abbey was a society of religious people having an abbot or abbess to preside over them. And some of these were so considerable, that the abbots of them were called to parliament and had seats and rights in the house of lords. They had the power and authority of Bishops within the limits of their several houses, gave the solemn benediction, conferred the lesser orders, wore mitres, &c. and some of their houses were exempted from all episcopal jurisdiction."

* Norwich Registry.

† Robert Terour was vicar of St. Mary's and lies buried on the east side of the font as it originally stood against the second pillar from the tower on the south side, in the church. Did he assist mainly in erecting St. Mary's portion of the church, as he is thus honourably distinguished in the register? 21st June, 1478, *sepelieund. ex latere orientali fontis.*

* *Archæologia v, xviii, p. 445*, seal of abbot, not of monastery. St. Osythe here stands with her head in her hands, it having been cut off by the Danes. St. Paul's sword is behind her, and St. Peter's keys before her, and the legend is S. ECC'E. SCE. OSVTHE. DE. CHIC. AD. CA'S. The seal engraved is the one which the monastery bore in public.

† *Monasticon*, v. 6.

BOOKS IN ABBEYS.

tion and subject only to the Pope."* In 1307, the abbot of St. Osythe, the then rector of Stowmarket, attended the parliament which was held at Carlisle, in January, under Edward the First.†

The monasteries were by no means such hives of drones as they have sometimes been represented. In them the chronicles of the kingdom were preserved. Sums of money were left by will to them for copying the Scriptures, and the Classics, and the Fathers. Thus (*duo molendina in villa de Stow pertinent ad Scriptorium Ecclesie S. Edmundi,*)‡ two mills were left in the town of Stow to the writing room of Bury St. Edmund's. The manuscript leaf on vellum of St. Luke's Gospel found amongst the town papers, and the ornamented missal pages thus discovered, owe their existence to these careful copiers. Charters, title deeds, genealogies of private persons, the succession of bishops, abbots, mayors, and other public bodies, were lodged for security in these places during the martial periods of our history. They served as public registries for the whole kingdom. In them learning reposed amid her silent but laborious energies, and to their walls she often fled for safety, when otherwise in the midst of the fires and blood of civil war her most precious treasures would have for ever perished. God over-ruled the abuses of these institutions to the good of the church, and our own blessing, in receiving the Scriptures from their hands.

They also served as schools, wherein the children of the gentry or nobility could be boarded and instructed, and in many of their halls the children of the poor were freely taught when they evidenced any remarkable ability. As great hotels travellers freely lodged in their hospitable walls. Thus the priory of Norwich expended 1500 quarters of malt and 800 quarters of wheat in the year, by entertaining strangers. Small payments were made or gratuities left at setting out by the travellers. But these did not

* Tanner—preface to his *Notitia Monastica*, p. 123, &c.
Also List of Vicars, &c. from the Norwich Register's Office, by the kindness of J. Kitson, Esq.—in Appendix.

† *Stow's Annals.*

‡ *Monasticon*, i, p. 131, old edition.

HOSPITALITY.

compensate the fraternity for the plain substantial fare which was generously and yet thrifly expended. In this manner they raised themselves in popular favour, and their known abuses were long tolerated by the people, because they so freely expended their good cheer in bread, beer, and beef, to the way-faring man and the poor wanderer.

It is possible that monks may have existed in Stowmarket at a still earlier period. We find Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, in his history in 1076, stating that twelve monks of St. Mary of Stowe were professed religious, or had received their gown in the Croyland abbey. This may refer to Stow in Lincolnshire, but it is just as likely that it does not.* Whenever any of these brethren visited their mother monastery they were entitled to a stall in the choir, a seat in the refectory, and a bed in the dormitory. They sometimes spent half, and at other times a whole year in these visits which occurred generally during the periods of civil war. No stranger was ever repelled from the monastic gate. No one ever (*ab antiquo raro*) asked an alms in vain. In time of warfare the solitude of these places (as at Croyland) was interrupted by crowds of men, women, and children, of poor and rich, who fled to these places as a shelter from the fury of the enemy. They not only sought them because their first founders had placed them amid marshes, and woods, or surrounded by sluggish streams which formed a defence and made them solitary, but their reputation for sanctity became very often a protection to the multitude against the lawless ravisher or fierce robber knight of those periods.

They were very injurious to the kingdom when so multiplied as to hold one third of the lordship of all the land in their hand. They accepted every pious gift, from a lordly manor and whole villages, to little water mills, and even to a salad with four hens from Rougham.† And not the least evil result arose, as in the case of parishes like this, when they

* *Sanctæ Mariæ Stowiaæ 10 monachos nostri capituli comprofessos Hist. Croyland.*
† *Monasticon*, 298, old edition.

REFORMATION IN STOW.

obtained possession as patrons of the parish church of a populous place, and some surrounding hamlets. The parochial clergy were impoverished by the abstraction of the great tithes, and more Popery was introduced. The monks became the militia of Rome; by them she overspread the land with the network of her devices. And as they made themselves her slaves, so the popes were always ready to assist them in opposing the bishops and parochial clergy. The smaller monasteries became receptacles of vice, and unnatural crimes, and many abominations existed in these places. The larger monasteries were generally exempt from such charges, yet numerous abuses prevailed. Public opinion was convinced of their evil effects. Nor can any well-read Christian regret their downfall, although we never can cease to deplore the complete diversion of the property devoted by the most sincere and faithful piety to God, to merely private purposes of wealth or pleasure. The effects of this sacriligious part of the Reformation, thus produced by the state in opposition to the warning voice of the church, we are suffering under to this very day, in the miserable inefficiency of our spiritual means of grace in many populous places. Much havoc and violence attended the Reformation in some places; this town suffered but little. Yet here the storm which swept away so many beautiful relics of piety and religious antiquity, was felt in some of its popular results. The tomb of the abbot was broken into and his ashes disturbed for treasure. Its north side is still in three large fragments. The stained glass windows were much broken. The clock and chimes were suffered to stand still. The pulpit or desk was broken. The seats injured. And in 1584 the churchwardens of the town as well as those of the upland, were compelled by a citation to Bury to refurnish those parts of the sacred building, and repair the clock and chimes.*

The advowson of this living and its royalties having been granted to the abbey, they took all the rectorial tithes and left the vicar only those on small produce. Their own land they pronounced tithe

ABUSES.

free, and obtained in opposition to the law of the country a bull from the Pope, who arrogated to himself the right of thus nullifying the acts and common law of each country. Abbot's hall property where the abbot resided still retains this privilege. These monks in their great establishments were also ambitious of retaining every thing within themselves. They were tanners, brewers, bakers, and farmers. They were careful in promoting the wealth and employment of any towns which they possessed. And their care of the poor in all cases was hospitable and kind. Their own tradesmen were encouraged by loans of money and long credit, and all others they endeavoured to impoverish. In those cases where the monastery only held rectorial tithes and did not possess the advowson, constant bickerings and disputes existed between the secular vicar and the monks. This however was not the case here. The vicar was nominated by the abbot, and most likely after this gift of the advowson to the abbey by the king, he was always a monk of St. Osythe.

The religious belief of the early periods in which monasteries dedicated to Saints arose, evidently contemplated the constant presence of the sainted person in the place where his or her dust might happen to repose. They considered the soul with its spiritual powers to be always hovering over or resting in the churches dedicated to its honour. Connecting this idea of its real presence with the possession of some spiritual power through its prayers and access to the throne of Grace, the transition to the worship of the Saint in adoration and all its highest acts was easy. Nay, it was impossible to prevent this religious homage from arising in the minds of nearly all the worshippers. (Thus of Cic or Chic—*Locus est—ubi est beatæ Osigithæ in miraculis famosæ virginis requies.*) St. Osithe was supposed by this system of teaching to rest in placid joy within her own abbey in Essex, and also to visit those churches which belonged to her servants.* Her intercession

* C. W's accounts.

* "St. Osithe's body was translatyd for a while for feare of the Danes from Chick to Aylesbury." *Monasticon*, v. 6.

SAINT WORSHIP.

could be obtained at Stow, because it had been given to her, but a pilgrimage to her primary seat was more sure to be successful. The most monstrous abuses, superstitions, and perversions of Christian faith, flowed from the first simple, apparently harmless and poetic thought of connecting the spiritual presence of the Saint in fond watchfulness with its remains. Hence came the natural idea of their knowledge of who was present in their churches, and who best honoured their memories. Invocations followed, battles for their bodies between rival monks were necessary attendants on such false doctrine. The largest offerings in proportion to the means of the suppliant ensured the most success. The Saint's felicity increased with the gorgeousness and beauty of the church. Stories of ghostly visitations, dreams, and innumerable fooleries all tended to enlarge such saintly reputation. Christ was forgotten amid the confusion of these rival claimants in merit, and the pure gospel inscribed and sealed with ONE NAME alone as Mediator, Intercessor, and Saviour, was concealed beneath the cumbrous pile of saintly robes that every monastery, priory, and abbey found themselves to their own surprise interested in preserving.

The Grange of a monastery was any farm which they had at some distance (so called *a grana gerendo*) and here a "Prior of the Grange" generally resided. The Grange in this town with its royalties and corporation was called a hall. The services also were here conducted on the cathedral plan. The chancel having been built for the purpose of accommodating a large body of priests to chant the service. The room over the vestry with its winding stone stair was thus constructed to provide for a perpetually resident priest, whose charge consisted in keeping the church open at all hours day and night, for those who wished there to offer their private prayers to God. A delightful custom in old times, and one which we cannot too soon have restored. The abbot himself was most likely a frequent if not an annual visitor for some portion of each year at Stowe or Abbot's hall.

The Navis Ecclesiæ, Gradatorium, and Presbyterium, have all been very perfect in this church.

DISSOLUTION—LORD DARCY.

There is also a capacious Rood loft, where the images of the Virgin and St. Peter, to whom the church is dedicated, were placed. And the carved work supporting it over the chancel arch is still perfect.

When Henry the Eighth and his parliament dissolved the monasteries, he might have restored many of the rectories to the secular priests, and thus have increased the efficiency of the church in populous places.* This however he did not do. They were given away to please his whims, or gratify his passions. They were gained for at dice with his courtiers; they were exchanged for other manors and places of his own; or they were sold in the reign of Edward the Sixth for inconsiderable sums of money, like the possessions of St. Osythe with their advowsons for £1500, together with a large property in Devonshire. (anno 1552.)† Sir T. Darcy was rector of Stowmarket, Stowupland, Chilton, Dagworth, and Old Newton. The whole of the great tithes were vested in him as Impropriator, and have continued as lay property. The vicarage in this town was left alone in a large population. Its incumbent had no longer the assistance of other clergymen in visiting the sick or at divine service, and his own income was narrow and necessitous. This change at the Reformation was a great evil. In places like this, a large population had been brought together under the encouraging patronage of a monastery, whose mem-

* The first dissolution of the smaller monasteries amounted to 376. And afterwards the total number of all kinds thus destroyed, and much of the property converted to lay persons, was 605 religious houses of an extensive kind like Bury and St. Osithe—96 colleges—110 hospitals—2374 chantries. Making a grand total of 3461 buildings devoted expressly by Christian people to the service of God, which were pulled down, wasted, ruined, or left to the ever-willing hand of time to destroy, and which stillingers as if in sorrow to complete its task. Their resources were generally squandered, or served to enrich many formerly poor and ignoble families. (*Camden.*) It was from Ipswich that the warning voice of dissolution against the monasteries went forth. Forty were suppressed for Cardinal Wolsey's college in that town, &c. In Norwich diocese in 1620 there existed 1121 parish churches—385 had been appropriated or attached to monasteries, the largest number in England except Lincoln, which had 577.
† *Tanner.*

DEPLORABLE EFFECTS.

bers were always ambitious to make their towns prosperous and comfortable. Money, provisions, and a public table for old worn-out servants and other poor persons was often kept at such places. Trade was encouraged, and here the clothiers were numerous and wealthy. When the abbey was dissolved, the noblemen into whose hands the property came seldom if ever visited the place ; public hospitality was at an end. The poor monks were turned out and reduced to labour for their bread. The natural bitterness of religious dissensions increased ; and it is remarked that many of these places still retain the traces of those calamitously managed acts, in large populations, inefficient church accommodations, religious dissent, and its necessary evils.

Some conception may be formed of the great changes and deep distress produced by the manner in which these establishments were destroyed, when 10,000 persons were turned out of the smaller monasteries to beg their bread. These consisted of 375 convents and priories, having resources under £200 a year. This portion of the spoil amounted to £30,000 per annum, and £10,000 was brought into the king's treasure in jewels and church plate. But when the large monasteries fell before the crown and parliament, several millions of property was thus squandered or given away, and thousands of religious persons were compelled to live as they could.* Retribution is the law of providential government in this world. The monasteries had abused their trust and suffered. The crown sacriliciously enriched itself, and has now scarcely any private revenues remaining. The parliament diverted church property devoted to God to other purposes, and the nation itself endured all the miseries of a civil war springing out of the principles engendered in these times, in the reign of Charles the First ; whilst we are still bearing in many places the yet open wounds of those calamitous times and actions. The destruction of histories, bibles, and books, in the libraries of these monasteries was one of those disasters which no time can restore. Some of these precious volumes

STOW PRIESTS.

"served their jakes, with some they scoured their candlesticks, and some they took to rub their boots. Some they sold to the grocers and soap sellers, and some they sent over the sea to the book binders, not in small number, but at times whole ships' full. For more than ten years, a merchant who bought from one of the courtiers two libraries belonging to a monastery for 40s., used the paper to wrap up and send out his goods. Our posterity may well curse these wicked facts of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities."*

The pages of the missal in our chest had served as the cover of the churchwarden's accounts in the reign of Elizabeth, James, and 1st and 2nd Charles. The scraps of paper, parchment, &c. plainly shewed what barbarian havoc had been made on a small scale in the church amongst the books which had been used by the monks for study or public worship.

The dissolution of the first monastery was made as an experiment to try the public opinion in 1531. This was Christ Church, Priory, near Aldgate, in London, founded anno 1108 by Matilda, Queen of Henry I, and its revenues and church, which no one then would buy, were bestowed on T. Audley, the speaker of the Parliament. It is now called Duke's Place.† The public muttered and was unmoved. The whole monastic edifice of good and evil tottered to its foundation at this first blow, and fell soon after in a few years, not unpitied, and for the sacrilege on its property much lamented, but not undeservedly punished.‡

At least one hundred of such foundations in our county were thus devoted to destruction, and many of them by their crumbling ruins speak in warning voice to those who hold the gospel in trust to remember their vocation—MEMENTO—MEMENTO ||

The monks of some years' standing, as well as the

* Bale.

† Fuller. Ch. Hist.—Abbeys.

‡ Gifts were sometimes inscribed *qui alienabit, anathema sit*—it did not save the plate at the Reformation, but the curse often remained in the house when the money was spent out of the pocket.

|| The prophetic words in Gloucester church. Fuller.

* Fuller, b. 2, on Abbeys.

MONKS AND NUNS.

nuns were not turned out without pensions. These were granted to them for life. This was also done for the chantry priests, and two such pensioners existed in connection with Stowmarket.* As the lives of all pensioners are singularly long, some of them were still living in the reign of James the First. The young monks and nuns were expected to work and marry; and this latter change of life was very agreeable to hundreds amongst them. The distress arose from the falling off of hospitality. The poor in their old age considered the monastic table as their resource and comfort. This general distress and the want of some public provision for the sick

* Registers—Norwich.

POOR LAWS.

and aged poor became so great, that it resulted in the establishment of the system of poor laws. Hundred houses and unions (in all their painful and degrading accompaniments,) are now the ugly occupiers of ground, where in old times monasteries and abbeys would have been standing.*

* Some part of St. Osythe's monastery is still standing and in preservation. "The remains are considerable. The quadrangle is almost entire, excepting part of the north side occupied by some modern apartments. The entrance is by a beautiful gateway of hewn stone mixed with flint, having two towers and two posterns. The stables and offices on the east and west sides of the court bear marks of great antiquity. To the east are three towers, one larger and loftier than the rest. The priory is now the property and residence of Frederic Nassau, Esq." *Monasticon* by Sir H. Ellis, 809, v. 6. Co. Essex.

CHAPTER XV.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1030 TO 1200.

MURDER.

1083] William had now succeeded in securing the possession of the throne in his own family. But the Saxon spirit of resistance to this revolution in the regal line did not cease for many years. Taxation also was severely imposed and felt. He exacted six shillings from each hyde of land in this kingdom. This amounted to about £3 of our money, (*Mut. Paris.* i. 11. *de unquoque aratro*,) and in the Hundred to £250. If any person was found murdered in the Hundred, the court and parish were obliged to shew on oath his family and discover who he was. If they failed, he was pronounced to be a Norman, and then a heavy fine (47 marks of silver) was imposed on all the parishes for the supposed murder of the obnoxious foreigner.* This was termed the finding his *Englishry*. And our coroner's inquest is now the result of this law.

* *Ingulph.*

ABBEY AT BURY.

1032] An annual tax was levied of four pence, (about 6s. 8d.) upon every plough land in Norfolk and Suffolk, for the completion of the great church of the abbey at Bury. It was twelve years in building, but constant additions were made at different periods to this vast edifice.* Baldwin the abbot was one of its great builders; he had been physician to King Edward the Confessor, and stone was brought by him from Northamptonshire for this purpose.† Much stone however came from beyond sea and was landed by the Gipping at Rattlesden.‡

Before the year 1060.] In Anhouse (*Onehouse*), Thirkeel Dreeing a soldier (*miles*) gave a large portion of land to the abbey at Bury. This was only

* *Monasticon.*

† *De Bernack in agro Northamptonensi. Arch. Battley's Antiq.* p. 47.

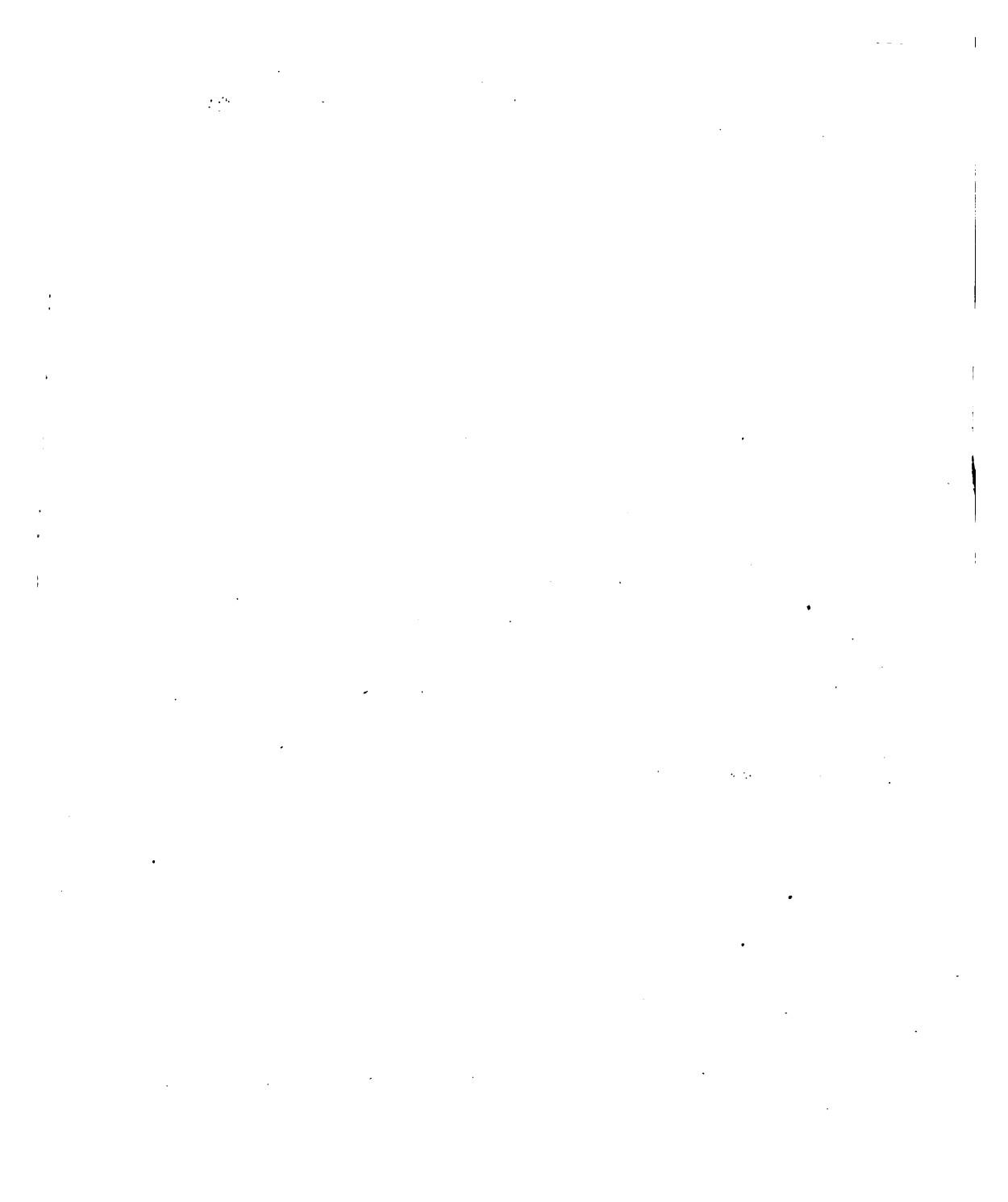
‡ See page 80.



Drawn by J. F. Rossi.

Engraved by Wm. Hoggreen.

INTERIOR OF STOWMARKET CHURCH.
(length 122 feet.)



ONEHOUSE—CREETING.

a certain part of this parish and of which they retained possession under William the First in 1084. But Ketel the Saxon thane or nobleman was the principal resident proprietor in 1086, and lived at the hall in rude but splendid hospitality. He or his ancestors built probably the present church, and may have obtained his rank as noble by erecting a bell tower, and as possessing a kitchen which could support seven men and their families, according to the then Saxon constitution.* Thirkeel was a Dane, and the possession of the whole parish by a Dane and Saxon shews the intermixture of races which occurred in some places.

1077] The patronage of the church in one of the Greetings was given by king William to the abbey of Hastings. Also the church of Mendlesham and part of the feud or landed property of Brictric a presbyter, one of our Saxon proprietors in the Hundred. Twenty churches were thus granted, but not with the manors annexed, which proves that the patronage at this time, and it no doubt followed an old custom, was not always attached to the estate; but was treated as a separate property. There are many grants of this kind.†

The custom of ringing the principal bell in each Hundred, derives its existence from these times. It was then called *le courre feu*, because the inhabitants at its summons were directed to extinguish their fires. Thus the supremacy of the law was felt whenever its sounds were heard. The custom has been continued here from this period at eight o'clock during the winter six months. In 1586, Mr. John Howe by his will left a sum of money out of a tenement in Crow street to the sexton, "at the time accustomed to ring the greatest bell in the steeple of Stowmarket," and in the morning also "to raise up and awaken the artificers there dwelling †." Thus the sounds which at first uttered their warning to the inhabitants and spoke of war and revolution, came to be devoted to the peaceful pursuits of human industry, and are now merely a record of fleeting hours and by-gone years.

* *Monasticon*, v. 2.

† Vicar's Charity book 55.

† *Ibid*, i, 318.

TYRELL FAMILY.

On the death of William, he was succeeded by his son William Rufus, who exhibited the vices of a tyrant without any of the great qualities of the Conqueror. He was like his race passionately devoted to hunting. The new forest in Hampshire became the scene of his exploits in this art, where many parish churches had been pulled down to create those leafy solitudes which wild animals love. In pursuit of a deer, attended by Sir Walter Tiril, the king's bow-string, broke, and he hastily exclaimed to his companion, "shoot, Walter, shoot, in the devil's name shoot." At his bidding an arrow glancing against a tree, (say some,) or against the back of the stag, entered the king's breast, who fell dead without uttering a word. The French knight cast an earnest look of enquiry at the corpse and fled to France. From him descended in a direct line the Tyrells of Gipping hall, (now Chas. Tyrell, Esq.) and the family of Tirrell in Essex. Whether Sir Walter shot the king deliberately or not became a subject of dispute. He denied the imputation of design himself, whilst all rejoiced in the fact, and most historians were willing to consider it piously as the providential infliction of the retaliatory hand of God upon him for his violent sacrilege and great cruelty.*

1097] The river between Ipswich and this town was made navigable for barges in 1790. The grounds rise gradually but imperceptibly to the eye, as you proceed from Ipswich to Stowmarket, and the latter town stands 120 feet above the former. So far back however as the Norman Conquest the river was navigable up to near Rattlesden, and much of the stone used in building the abbey at Bury by Baldwin the abbot, who died in this year, was brought from Caen in Normandy to Ipswich, and thence to

* Henry of Huntingdon says—*Wallerus Tyrell cum sagitta cervo intendens regem percussit inscius*—thus accidental by the knight;—*jure antem in medio infusitate euc præceptus est*—the hand of God was in the stroke. He was a dreadful tyrant—*nec respirare poterat Anglia miserabiliter suffocata*. Hoveden says—*quodam Waltero Franco cognomine Tyrello sagitta incaute directa percussus vitam finivit*. This is a strange coincidence—in loco etiam, quo Rex occubuit, priscis temporibus Ecclesia fuerat constructa, sed patria sui tempore diruta erat. Church destroyers either as governments or persons are always marked with misfortune in history.

CANAL TO RATTLESDEN.

Rattlesden where it was landed. Some stone however was brought from Bernack, in Northamptonshire.* A long winding marshy valley about five miles in length connects Stow with the former village. A small brook which has evidently in ancient times been widened meets the Gipping at the bridge on entering the town. And no doubt whatever can exist, that from this bridge to Ipswich the stream was at an early period navigable for small craft of ten or twenty tons, such as were then employed in these works. This curious fact is described by Lidgate, a monk of Bury, who formed chronicles of all the events in his own time, and of those which had preceded him. He wrote his history in verse, of which this is a specimen, relating to the building of the abbey in stone, whereas before this time the whole vast structure was of wood covered with lead.

"In seyne and twentye wynters ye may seen
A newe churche he dyd edifie,
Ston brought from Kane out of Normandye
By the se, and set up on the strande
At Ratlysdene, and carried forth be lande."
MS. Brit. Mus.

The fact is more valuable than the verse of the rhyming historian. The Gipping in its course to Ipswich runs now through a loose deep boggy soil, and the whole of its banks and of the valley in which its tranquil waters glide along, were most probably in the same state as the river Orwell is now below Ipswich. The banks were covered with wood and fringed down to the margin of the deep mud and loamy soil, which the waters of each tide covered as far perhaps as Needham, if not even up to Stowmarket.†

1101] *Godfrid* the son of Eliwand and his wife gave to God and St. John of Stoke the tenth of *Buxhall*. In this gift his sons joined and confirmed the deed. For without this assent of the children, as well as the permission of the king, such gifts then were not legal. And when he was dying he gave

BUXHALL—COCKNEYS.

twelve pence yearly, which a certain labourer or rustic named Uletred was to pay. He kept a chaplain named Roger, and seems to have owned the whole parish, and to have been a man of consequence in the neighbourhood. His father Eliwand was a viscount, and had made grants in Finchfield, Fornham, and Waldingfield, to the same priory.* This was afterwards confirmed by a bull of Pope Alexander's. The monks, as the Pope's militia, endeavoured thus to fortify themselves by numerous parchments against encroachments. They appealed to him for support, and he in giving them a bit of writing that cost nothing, assumed by this appeal to himself a right over the whole church where he had not a shadow of title, whilst he secured the monks as the most zealous defenders of his power. This admission of a foreign bishop's power into the kingdom defeated itself, and became one of the leading political causes of the Reformation in the 16th century.

1101] In this year or thereabouts the king's tenant here, Roger Bigot, had the parish of Framlingham conferred on him by his master Henry the First. He began to build the castle there, and so its importance as a place of strength dates from this period. But at the time of the Survey, when we had a market here, Framlingham was not a place of any note. The third Earl Bigot fought against Henry the 2nd, and is by tradition a poet as well as a turbulent warrior.

"Were I in my castle of Bungay,
Upon the waters of Wavenay,
I would ne care for the king of Cocknay."†

If his sword had not been better than his pen, the king of Cockney or London need not have been much disturbed at his prowess.

This however proves that the term Cockney as applied to the Londoners is as old as 1178. For this Hugh was then buried at Thetford. The term literally taken is "little cooks," and the title "king of the cooks" bespeaks at least an attention to good cheer, even at that early period in our great city, which has

* *Battleley. Antiq.* p. 47.

† About A.D. 1630 one of the bells was brought by water from Ipswich to Stowmarket, having been recast. C. W's accounts.

* *Monasticon*, i, 1009. Old edition.

† *Percy's Reliques*.

MOTIVES FOR PIous GIFTS.

not been neglected or misunderstood by their descendants.

1103] In a deed made in this year by the son of our Lord Roger Bigot to increase the foundation of the priory at Thetford, which his father had created, "for the general welfare of souls," as well as his own and those of his family, (*pro communi salute et remedio animarum.*) Brismere 'of Torneia or Thorney at Stowmarket, had to pay three measures of wheat annually to the priory. This was a part only of its possessions amongst a vast variety of gifts, for the monasteries received every thing that might be offered, from a simple groat up to a royal manor.* One of the witnesses to the deed from Henry the First, giving Roger permission thus to grant his land, is *William* of Torneia or Stowmarket. It is dated the 13th Feb. This name became like others in time either simply *Williams* or *William Torne*; and in after times, as the language was more settled, *Thorn*.

In some of these deeds the heirs are forbidden to receive any thing but "prayers" from the lands thus conveyed to the church. (*nec hæredes mei aliquid accipiemus ab eis præter orationes.*) They thus provided for a change in religion, but specified the principle on which the church was to be endowed. This was for the spiritual welfare of man and succeeding generations, and the sacred society or church could thus adapt itself to circumstances, and yet remain in her ministers, people, and temples, a means of explaining and instructing the nations in the Gospel of Christ. The evil in those times arose from the Romish church intruding her Pagan notion of a purgatory into this teaching, and carrying the efficacy of prayer for a Christian man beyond the grave, which no scripture will warrant.

The same priory at Thetford held also some land in Old Newton, with a certain portion of tithe, which was confirmed to the house by a grant of Henry the Second.†

1138] Robert Malet, one of the great proprietors in this Hundred at the time of the Conquest, esta-

CREETING—HAUGHLEY.

blished a large and wealthy community of Benedictine monks at Eye. Amongst other gifts they held from him the patronage of eighteen churches. To these they could present some of their own body, and so extend their influence. Amongst them *Haughley* is one, with all its tithes, lands, and other things thereto belonging. Rad Grosse also gave them two parts of his tenths in *Creeting*, with the church of St. Botolph de Yea and its appurtenances. From the frequent mention of tenths due to the lords, as lords of the manor, we may conclude that this payment was at first a sort of rent or custom from their estates. The tenths or tithe of woods, of calves, of cheese, of skins, and hogs are mentioned in the deeds before us. These then as proprietors of the soil, they gave to the church, and thus a part of the rent in kind paid to the landlord, was paid to two landlords, the lord of the manor and the church.

Most of the signatures to these ancient deeds are signed by the nobility with a mark. Roger Bigot Earl of Norfolk, and the great man in this Hundred, only attached his consent with a mark, (*sanc*t* crucis.*) For education was confined almost exclusively to the clergy.

1136] Stephen the king who warmly espoused the cause of the monks in return for their good services as advocates of his claim on the throne, granted forty soldiers of the castle at Norwich to the abbey at Bury for their defence. With them he gave the Hundred of Stow, or rather (for so it must be interpreted) a claim on the parishes in the Hundred for their pay and provisions. This he could do as lord paramount and as a great lord of the manor of Stowmarket. The country was then rent into different factions by the claimants on the crown, and the monks of Bury in espousing his side secured for themselves a good garrison. It is likely that the political feelings were not in his favour in the Hundred. This arose from genuine old English attachment to the line of our native princes in the Empress Matilda, or from the influence of the Bigots, lords of Stowmarket under the king, as the chief of this family headed the insurrection against Stephen. It was therefore good

* *Monasticon*, i. 665.

† *Ibid.* i. 666—667.

KING STEPHEN—OLD NEWTON.

policy to make the Hundred pay for soldiers who protected his friends at Bury.

1160] Henry the Second by a charter confirmed to this priory a grant in *Old Newton*. Herlewin de Panneward had given "four men in Newton" to the monks, with the land which he gave them. They were therefore bound to the soil, and now changed their masters. The whole tenth of Panneward (a parish) and four sticks of eels were also confirmed. This Herlewin here takes the name of the parish where he lived, though before he was a man without a name.*

Every landholder had to pay a tenth to some church. But the tithe (*decima*) were not always paid to his parish, because the superior lord often gave them to monasteries or churches at a distance. Thus in the enumeration of the various gifts to the monastery at Thetford, the tithe of Wm. Fitz Offord, the tithe of Lambert of Scireford, &c. are given. This was the tithe of the land they occupied in their respective parishes, which was thus paid to a church at a distance. In Stow Hundred these kind of gifts did not largely prevail, and the tenths of the land and all it produced were paid to the parish churches. Whilst in Stowmarket, Stowupland, Chilton, Dagworth, and Old Newton, they were paid to the abbot of St. Osythe in Essex, who was rector and patron of these parishes at a somewhat later period. *Lambert* of Stonham however paid the tithe of the land he held in Newton to this monkish fraternity at Thetford: and Asscelins land in the same parish was also confirmed by this charter to them.†

About this period was founded a priory of Cistercian monks by Eustace de March at Coddenham, in the next Hundred, and dedicated to St. Mary. One of the subscribing witnesses is *Roger of Newton*. Norman, Hervey, and Thomas, sign as presbyters, (or clergymen.) They were probably of this neighbourhood, and Hervey may be of the Dagworth family of that name.‡

1165] There was a great earthquake in the county. The bells in all the churches sounded, many persons

HAUGHLEY CASTLE.

were thrown down, but the private buildings being mostly of wood stood firm, although much damage was done to the churches by rents and fissures.*

1173] The rebellion of Henry's eldest son against his father was now at its height. Robert Earl of Leicester landed at Walton with 3,000 Flemings, and these foreigners being joined by the forces of Hugh Bigot from Framlingham castle, an army of 10,000 soldiers moved upon Haughley castle. They burned the churches belonging to those who opposed them; and as the clergy in these parts appear to have been loyal men and attached to the old king, all those between Ipswich and Haughley to the right and left of the present road were injured. The Haughley fortification had been improved by the erection of a tall castle on the mound, but it was now besieged and carried soon afterwards by assault and totally destroyed. They burned and overthrew the new tower, but the ancient earthen ramparts and deep ditches of the Romans though much changed, still remain as memorials of these stormy periods and national revolutions. Many fragments and stones from doors and windows, with copings, have been taken out of the moat, all corresponding with this period of castle architecture. Vast masses of stone imbedded together remain immovable at the bottom of the moat. And many of the stones are still lying in the court yard of Plass Wood adjoining this singular ruin. This army was encountered by Hugh de Lacy near Bury and totally defeated in a place called St. Martin's of Karneham (Forneham).† The castle, at Walton where the Flemings landed, was afterwards totally destroyed by the king as a punishment to Earl Bigot, and also to prevent the existence of any place of such convenient access to the restless Flemings in similar circumstances.

1180 circa.] In the reign of Henry the Second the administration of the law became invested with active

* *Baker's Chron.*

† Forneham—*Stowe's Ann.* *Roger Hoveden. Ann.* They marched from the latter town bearing before them the consecrated standard of St. Edmund. The earl's camp was attacked, in a moment (*in ictu oculi victus est*) he was overthrown, ten thousand men were slain and all the rest taken prisoners. *Anno Gratiae*, 1173.

* *Monasticon*, i, 667. † *Ibid*, i, 667. ‡ *Ibid*, 910.

* *Blackstone. Com. b. 4, c. 33.*

† Sir Edward Coke's preface to *Reports nascebatur in v. de Stratford*—another account Stomercast.

‡ *Singulariter ferus et dominus domini sui*—the character of Ralph was the same as that of Stephen de Marsai.—*Ricardus Divisensis de Rebus gestis Ric. I. c. 7*, Hist. Soc. Ed.

|| *Ranulfus de Glanvilla, regni Anglorum rector et regis coactus—depotestatus et custodias tradidit, tunc saltum cibū liberum et redire redemit quindecim mille libris argenti.*
—*Ibid., c. 7.*

(*ad ulciscendas Christi, injurias.*)†

With Archbishop Baldwin he preceded Richard to succour the Christian besiegers of Acre. And in the trenches of this city the great justiciary of Eng-

BUTLEY ABBEY.

land died, together with the Archbishop, and his name vanished from the times in which he lived.

In 1641, "Dorothy the Ladye of William Fford, kt. latt of Buttlye Abbye was buried in Stowmarket church." But whether she was a descendant of the famous justiciary is uncertain. This parish is near

* Registers.

BUTLEY ABBEY.

Boyton. In 1820 stone coffins were found here with stone lids closely cemented, and one of them was kept at the hall for many years.* One of the Tyrell family resided here about 1620, and was brought thence to be buried in Stowmarket.†

* Parish Clerk.

† Registers.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1200 TO 1300.

STOW HUNDRED.

[1267] As I must not weary the reader with too many scraps and shreds of local history, some interesting facts connected with the neighbouring parishes may be here strung together.

The fee of the Hundred of Stow was in the crown as we have seen, until John of Eltham Earl of Cornwall obtained a grant of it from his brother Edward III. He held it for life and dying without issue, (10 Ed. III.) it was given to Rob. de Ufford, and settled on him with other estates by special testament for his good services. His grandson died possessed of it, (5 Rich. II.) and having no male issue his estates passed to his three sisters, which of them had it, is not known, but (in 3 Hen. V. A.D. 1416,) it was in the possession of Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, who died at the siege of Harfleur that year of a flux, and so it passed several times amongst their descendants.*

BUXHALL.—[1267] The advowson of Buxhall rectory with some land was transferred from one Wm. son of Roger Stenny, to another of the same name.

[1416] Mr. Will. Copynger parson or rector (*persona*) of Buxhall was an executor to the will of Ed. Hethersete, Esq. and in 1436 the same rector be-

BUXHALL.

queathed Buxhall hall with the advowson of the living to his brother John Copynger for his life, and after his decease to William his son, as they were all in the church. In 1457 however they were no longer living, and John Howard being then the rector, he by his will dated May 5, directed his body to be buried in the chancel of Stow church, "at the entrance into the choir there." In 1477 another change occurred in the living, and T. Powlyn then incumbent exchanged it with Thos. Draper for the mastership of the college at Attleburgh. Our ecclesiastical customs are not things of yesterday, but rooted in the habits and condition of the country.

[1512] Wm. Copynger a younger son of this ancient family, having gone to London in youth to push his fortune, entered into business as a fishmonger. He was a man of great piety, prudence, and activity. He became a member of that renowned corporation, and accumulated vast wealth. And in this year he was knighted by the king and elected to the distinguished honour of lord mayor of London. At his death he divided his estate between, he says, "God and his heirs." One half he devoted to the church and to the poor, and the remainder was bequeathed to his relations. His character made an impression upon the age in which he lived, and he

* *Jermyn M.S.—Addenda 8191—Brit. Mus.*

COPINGER FAMILY.

is described in terms of affection and respect by his cotemporaries.* It is from men like him that we derive half our strength as a nation, and from the honourable pursuits of commerce and trade, we become great in power by wealth as well as arms. The descendants of this ancient clerical family still live in the parish.

Sir Wm. Esturmy† was high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1210 to 1214, and in 1254 his grandson possessed the manor of Buxhall. About 1367 Sir Wm. Esturmy died leaving one daughter Rhosia, his heiress, who married Wm. Clement of Stow, esq. But a singular chain of descendants here begins.—Mrs. Clement had a sole daughter and heiress Emma, married to T. Cakestreet; and she had an only daughter Alice, married to T. Sorrel; and she had but one daughter, married to J. Copinger. This last gentleman's ancestors made their fortunes in the abbey and employment of the abbots of Bury. For out of these great establishments came men who had accumulated great wealth by serving them as wood merchants, factors, and in various other capacities. Walter Copinger of Buxhall married Beatrice daughter of —— Ashurst, both were dead in 1532. But the following curious grant was made to him in 1513, and one would suppose through the influence of the then lord mayor of London, either his brother or nephew. It is still preserved in the glebe house of Buxhall, which belongs with its advowson and manor to this honorable and ancient family.

"Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to all men or own subjects, as well of the spiritual pre-eminence and dignities as of the temporal authority, these our letters hearing and seeing, and to every of them greeting. Whereas we be credibly informed that our trusty and well-beloved subject Walter Copinger is so diseased in his head that without his great danger he cannot be conveniently discovered of the same. In consideration whereof we have by these presents licensed him to use and wear his bonet upon his said head, as well in our presence as elsewhere at his liberty. Wherefore we will and command you and every of you to permit and suffer him so to do, without any your challenge, disturbance, or interruption to the contrary as you and every of you tender our pleasure. Given under our signet at our manor of Greenwich the 24th day of October, in the 4th year of our reign. (1512) HENRY R."

BROWNISTS—INDEPENDENTS.

This privilege is singular and but few instances of a similar kind are recorded in history. King John granted a like honour to Courcy baron of Kinsale in Ireland. Ratcliff earl of Sussex was permitted by Queen Mary (of bloody memory) thus to appear in the royal presence. But the most remarkable is the same kind of grant made to Christopher Brown, Esq. of Tolethorp, in Rutland, who might put on his cap where he pleased, and only put it off at his own ease and pleasure. His son was the preacher Brown, whose strange religious opinions led to the formation of a new religious sect in the days of James the 1st, which at first was called the Brownist, but afterwards became the notorious independent schismatics in Cromwell's days. From these sprung the present Independents. It is curious to remark that a royal license should be necessary to allow the father of this founder of a sect to wear his cap at court, where the sect afterwards became the supreme power. Their ideas have always been republican in politics and religion. The wearing of a hat or cap with them in any presence has been *jure divino* and not *regali dono*. The fancy of Brown was precisely what the Plymouth brethren have endeavoured to hammer out of old Adam—viz. a perfect church on earth, and a perfect platform of government. And like many other weak and wandering men they were deceived into trying at impossibilities, and sought to make ropes out of sand. In 1584 two of his disciples were hanged at Bury for dispersing his tracts which were subversive of all government, and advocated (like the present Plymouth brethren and other democratic sectaries) the pulling down of every established institution. We have learned to tolerate these heresies in religion, and such revolutionary doctrines in politics. But in those days the government deemed them treason against the queen and state.*

Sir R. Copinger was knighted by Edward the Third on Muckleburg Field, he having valiantly assisted in beating back the Scots who would otherwise have captured the royal standard. A pension was granted to him at the same time, as he was a

* Suffolk M.S. Brit. Mus. Addenda ih.
† Family M.S. of the Rev. Copinger Hill.

* Fuller. C. Hist.

HILL AND COPINGER FAMILIES.

younger son of the family. In 1550 the Rev. H. Copinger was by mandate elected master of Magdalen college, Cambridge. He left a charity for four aged poor persons, who were to be nominated by his sons. And in 1675, such are the human mutations of things here at times, one of them, Henry, the only survivor, requested that he might be elected to enjoy the bounty of the founder. In Akenham church is this inscription to one of the family, and many much worse have been composed.

For nineteen years I lived a virgin life,
For seventeen more, being marry'd, lived a wife,
At thirty-six pale death my lip assail'd,
And as I lived, I dyed, befor'd, bowal'd.

In 1709 the Rev. Dr. Hill was presented by his mother-in-law to the rectory of Buxhall, he having married her sole daughter and heiress, thus again were family honours preserved by the female line in the family of Hill. The family have become mixed in blood with Bond, Alyhage, Heytit, Jermyn, Fisher, Simonds, Gooch, &c. &c.*

1622] Henry Copinger, fellow of St. John's Cam. prebendary of York and chaplain to Ambrose earl of Warwick, master of Magdalen Cam. died this year. He was the sixth son of Henry Copinger, esq. of this parish, by Agnes daughter of Sir Thomas Jermyn. His father on his death-bed asked him what profession he would embrace? "I propose, he replied, to enter the church." "I like it well, said the old gentleman, otherwise what shall I say to Martin Luther when I shall see him in heaven, and he knows that God gave me eleven sons, and I made not one of them a minister."† Lavenham had fallen vacant many years before, and being a large town and a good living, it deserved a good minister. The Earl of Oxford (a de Vere) was patron and presented it to Mr. Copinger, adding withall that he would pay no tithes for his park, which included half the land in the parish. Mr. C. desired to resign, saying it was sinful thus to betray the interests of the church for the sake of money. "Well, if you be of that mind,

LAVENHAM—COMBS.

cried the earl, then take the tithes. I scorn that my estate should swell with church goods." The next earl being a minor, his trustees contested the point. Mr. C. expended £1600 in defending the interests of the church, in keeping that which was given to God for a pious purpose, and succeeded, although he impoverished his own estate. For 45 years he was "painful parson of Lavenham." In that market town there were 900 communicants. Not a difference arose amongst them which he did not seek to arrange. He had a bountiful hand and deep purse. His paternal inheritance descended upon him by the death of his brothers. He left £10 per annum to the poor in land, and £20 in money, and died on St. Thomas's day at the age of 72, lying buried in the chancel of Lavenham church.

Combs.—1283] Sir Rob. de Creke much augmented his estate by marrying one of the heiresses of the Glanvilles.* One of these desirable ladies possessed the manor of Combs, and she resigned it to her son on his doing as his father had done before him in marriage. He died however without issue, and the good lady then obtained possession of her manor again, which she religiously devoted to higher objects. About 1258 she founded the nunnery at Flixton (or Felixstow,) and endowed it with the advowson of the church at Combs and a mill in the parish.† In 1288 the nuns conveyed all their rights in the manor and church to Roger Fitzpeter and his wife for some property in exchange; and thus it came into lay hands again. And in 1349 Rob. de Thirning, a rector of Combs, for some special services enjoyed 100 marks annuity from Ed. de Thorpe lord of Combes and Finningham. In 1367 Thorpe, Fitzpeter, Lady Creke, and the Felixstow nuns‡ having all yielded up their possessions to Him who closes the longest life, a new family, de Ufford, and noble, make their appearance as lords of Combs. Thence it passed to Willoughby, lords of Eresby, and then to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk. In the reign of James I, Thomas Dandye Gent of Cre-

* Family M.S. of Rev. Copinger Hill.
† Fuller C. H. 3, 1622.

* See last chapter.
† Tanner.
‡ I conjecture that the ruin at Felixstow is the last remnant of this foundation.

STOWMARKET.

tingham removed to Comba hall and died there. He lies buried under a marble stone in the church. The house was then for some time the seat of the Bridgmans. Orlando Bridgman grandson of the Bishop of Chester, rebuilt the hall. He presented the handsome silver plate to the church that it now possesses. But after his death the hall was sold to the Crowleys who pulled it down about fifty years since. And thus its ancient honours and associations came to an end. We sorrow over its ruins.*

1246] An abbey of Premonstratensian canons was built and endowed at Bungay by R. de Glanville A.D. 1182. In this year land was given in *Creeting* to this foundation by one of the proprietors.†

1253] Robert Grostede bishop of Lincoln was born in this neighbourhood, but the place is uncertain. He was one of those learned men whose commanding intellects and deep piety opposed by writing and preaching the novelties of Rome, and shewed that the English church was at heart primitive, apostolic, and catholic. She had no need to take her religion from Rome when Rome became corrupt, because she derives it from the Bible and the Apostles. The bishop was cited to Rome and loaded with heavy maledictions by the Pope. But he died in peace and was buried at Lincoln. (*diris maledictionibus exercitus.*)‡

1280] The barons and knights who had rebelled against king Henry the Third after the death of their renowned leader Hugh de Montfort Earl of Leicestershire, came into these counties, and ravaged, spoiled, burned, and harassed every town and village. The whole county was a scene of lamentation and distress. They had been deprived by the king of all their possessions and were thus determined to avenge themselves. But a cause for this rebellion lay beneath the surface of the events, which was the oppression of the people, and mingled with this were religious feelings, and a vague wish to resist the oppressions of Rome. By a special assemblage of barons on both sides, this body of proscribed gentlemen,

ARMOUR.

with the exception of the De Montforts, were restored to their lands, on payment of a sum of money, and thus these districts were delivered from the flames and blood of civil war.*

1285] Two constables were appointed in the Hundred to survey each person's armour thrice a year, and ascertain that every householder in proportion to his property possessed a sufficient quantity of arms. The tenant or proprietor who had £15 in land and 40 marks of goods, was bound to have a hauberke, breast plate of iron, a sword, or knife, and a horse. From this in proportion it ascended to 40s. per annum, and this man was sworn to have knives, daggers, and such small weapons; whilst all others were to be armed with bows and arrows, or bows and boulets. If also the constables of the Hundred found that the *uplanders* and country parishes lodged and harboured strangers without reporting them to the town, they were directed to present them before the justices.†

1287] On new year's night a great inundation of the sea occurred along the whole of the Eastern coast. Dunwich suffered and Yarmouth most severely. But even at Ipswich the waters rose and inundated the town and country. And in many other places churches and large buildings were overthrown by the storm.‡

1288] Wheat 3s. 4d. the quarter, and on the Continent one shilling. Considered a year of great plenty.

1297] Edward the First kept his feast of Christmas at Ipswich. This feast was changed from one place to another in order to benefit the country.||

* Stowe, and see p. 56.

† Stowe.

‡ Pickering.

|| Stowe.

PRICES.

1225] A cart with two horses was hired at 10d. per day, with three horses at 14d. *Statutes—Pickering.*

1269] An assize determined of bread, ale, &c. The lowest price at which a quarter of wheat is supposed to be sold is 16d.—the highest is 20s. A loaf sold for a farthing was then to weigh 4½ lb.—when at 20s. the same to weigh 6s. 3d. about 6 ounces. “Brewers in cities or towns may very well sell two gallons of beer or ale for a penny, and in the country three or four gallons for a penny, when barley is per quarter 20d. and oats 16d.” In our town they could sell three gallons for a penny, in the country round

* Suffolk M.S. Brit. Mus. Addenda.

† Tanner, 520.

‡ Bale, fol. 6, Ipswich ed. 1548.

PRICES.

four. This was owing to the town dues, &c." *Pickering's Statutes, 1293; Baker's Chronicles.*

	£.	s.	d.
A fat cock	0	0	1½
Two pullets	0	0	1½
A fat capon	0	0	2½
A goose	0	0	4
A mallard	0	0	1½
A partridge	0	0	1½
A pheasant	0	0	4
A heron	0	0	6

PRICES.

	£.	s.	d.
A plover	0	0	1
A swan	0	3	0
A crane	0	1	0
Two woodcocks	0	0	1½
A fat lamb from Xmas. to Shrovetide	0	1	4
And at all other times	0	0	4

Wheat was so plentiful that it was sold for ten groats or 3s. 4d. per quarter, but in the next year it was so scarce as to sell for 1s. 6d. the bushel. Money was about 10 times its present value.

CHAPTER XVII.

STOW HUNDRED AND ITS AGRICULTURE, WITH THE FARMING PRODUCTIONS IN SUFFOLK IN A.D. 1340.

VALUE OF LIVINGS.

In this year an inquisition was made by special commissioners throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of gathering a subsidy or tax granted by the parliament in aid of our king (Edward III.) and the expensive wars in Scotland and France. This tax was called a ninth of all that each parish produced from its land, and of all goods and chattels which each man possessed, except the mere husbandman or labourer, for these last as the poor were exempt from all taxation.* The valuation was made on the clergy in Suffolk by five commissioners. The prior of St. Peter's, Ipswich, was chief commissioner on the 20th April, 1340, but was afterwards succeeded by the abbot of Leyston—

Ralph de Bockyngg	John de Hemenhall
William Giffard	Ralph de Wylyngham.

The curious rolls which estimated the value of all the livings and collected the tax from the clergy have been preserved, and published by the government, entitled *Inquisitions Nonarum.*†

* "Poor boraille people."—a fifteenth was levied on all merchants and foreign traders. *Intro. Inquis. N.*

† [The copy I use is kindly lent me by Mr. Fitch of Ipswich. The Latin is contracted.]

VALUE OF LIVINGS.

HUNDRED DE STOWE—STOWE ST. PETER & ST. MARY.

The tithe of Stowmarket in 1292 under a valuation then made of many livings was £43 : 6 : 8.

	£.	s.	d.
Corn, wool, and lambs	23	13	4
Abbot's demesne	1	4	0
Meadow land	1	4	0
Pasture land	0	9	0
Rent of land not demesne	6	0	0
Market dues (in s'vic' custom') . . .	0	17	6
Two water mills . . .	2	0	0
Offerings—at Easter, All Saints, Christ- mas & Candlemas	2	0	0
Farm rents of vicar .	1	0	0
Gipping chapel .	1	0	0
Altar offerings at St. Mary's and various small tithes . . .	7	10	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	46	18	4
			10

The value of the
Mark in the Rolls } 469 3 4 in our money
is 13s. 4d. . .

The rector and patron was the abbot and abbey of St. Osythe. He also presented at that time to the chapel of Gippynge, and to Old Newton with Dag-

TITHEABLE PRODUCE.

worth. The principal inhabitants, or gentry who deposed to the truth of the valuation on oath, (*per sacramentum*,) and living in the parish which included Upland were Rob. de Bertow, Nic. de Walour, Walter Bern, Nic. Kyna, and Simon Tyrel (Ty'el) (*scilicet ville juratum est.*)

COMBES.—The tithe was on wool, corn, and lambs. The rector (*persona*) had also 24 acres of land—rent—12 acres of wood—offerings—the tithe of hay, small tithes and altar offerings. Its value £28 : 9 : 0, (multiply in each case by 10 to bring it to our standard.) Gentry—Wm. Frend, Wm. Senelones, Rich. Frend.

HAGHLE.—Wool, corn, and lambs, wood, pasture, 28 acres of land, 8 acres of arable, 12 acres of pasture. The vicar had the small tithes and oblations, and the abbot of Haylis was rector and patron. Value of rectory £27 : 9 : 6—vicarage £4 : 7 : 4. Gentry on oath—John Iryng, John Saltman, John Mandegome, Gilb. Iryng, and John Lucas.

BUXHALL.—Corn, wool, lambs. 60 acres, 4 acres arable, 2 acres of meadow, hay tithes, tithe of hemp and flax, offerings and small tithes, rents. Value £20 : 0 : 6. Gentry—Rob. Cokere, John le Spense, Rob. Str'e, Rich. de Leleseye.

OLD NEWTON cū **DAGWORTH**—Abbot of St. Osythe was rector and patron. Corn, wool, and lambs. 45 acres of land. The vicar had the tithe of hay, offerings, and small tithes. Rectory £10 : 16 : 4—vicar £6 : 17 : 4. Gentry—Rog. de Appilthueit, Rob. Caperoun, Will. Cattyng, Rob. Arnold.

FYNE'GR Mg'.—Wool, corn, lambs. 54 acres, 4 acres arable, 2 acres pasture, rents, small tithes and oblations. Value £13 : 17 : 6. No vicar had then been created though one exists now. Gentry—Hen. atte Borne, Rad. de Geddyng, Rog. Davy, John Ran.

FINEBERGH P.—The tithes of this parish were afterwards given by Geoffry Durefath, with the church to the prior of Bricet in 1424; but as it now appears distinct from Finborough M. the separation it is reasonable to suppose, as well as the origin of the church, must be somewhere near this date (1340), as but one parish is mentioned in 1086.* Corn,

* See Doomsday, Chap. 11.

TITHEABLE PRODUCE.

wool, lambs. 31 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow, offerings and small tithes. Value £1 : 9 : 11. Gentry—William Glanvyle, Galfrid Baronn.

HERLISTON.—Corn, wool, lambs; the prior of Buttelle rector; 30 acres of land, offerings, and small tithes. Value £2 : 0 : 6. Gentry—John Aldred, Rob. Spendelove, Ade dil Fen.

ONHOUS.—Corn, wool, lambs. 24 acres of land, 7 acres of wood, some right of pasture worth 2s.; rent, offerings and small tithes. Value £4 : 2 : 6. Gentry—Hen. de Schidhagh, John de Kent, Galf. Mowe.

WETHERDEN.—Corn, wool, lambs; the prioress of Blakber was rector and patron of half the church (presented alternately,) 30 acres, 2 of arable, half an acre pasture; the patron of the other half of the church, had 30 acres of land, 2 of arable, rents, offerings and small tithes. The priory £9 : 3 : 10. Other (*persona*) parson £6 : 3 : 4. Gentry—John Pollard, John le Wrihte, Mat. de Brokford, John Cokrel.

CRETYNGG STI PETRI.—Corn, wool, lambs. 34 acres, 3 arable, pasture worth 4s. tithe of hay, tithe of flax, offerings and small tithes. Value £10 : 17 : 1. Gentry—Eust de Hanleye, Thom. de Esten, John atte Wode, Will. Ketel, Hen. Can, Will. Schute.

CRETYNG (ON'U. S'TER.) ALLSAINTS.—Corn, wool, lambs. 40 acres, rents, tithe of hay, tithe of hemp and flax, offerings and small tithes, with some additional small tithes from lambs and fleeces. Value £10 : 13 : 9. Gentry—Rad de Scheph'de, Tho. de Pulford, John Richeman, Sim. Idesson.

These rolls are only the records of the ninths taken from the clergy, and therefore give the value of the livings as stated on the oaths of the clergy? and principal land occupiers. The ninth of the whole sum was collected from each incumbent. They may at first only appear curious to the ecclesiastical antiquary, but as they take notice of every thing which the land produced, for all was titheable, they yield up a statement of the condition in which the agricultural interests in each county are found at this period.* Wool was one of the five great staple

* "To near the middle of the 14th century a nominal pound sterling in coin was a real pound of silver equal to three of our pounds." (Henry, v. 4—Commerce.) The

CORN AND WOOL.

commodities of the kingdom, and next to corn the most marketable produce of the land. The goats of a former period are no longer known, and sheep were now the main stock in every parish. Wool as well as corn were largely exported. The latter produce was an export for several hundred years, and it does not appear that we have been an importing nation for corn until very recently, except in times of scarcity when corn was prohibited from export by a regal order, and a bounty given for its import.

The value of the land not ploughed nor in meadow in the Hundred averages about 6*d.* per acre—the arable or corn land averages 4*s.*—and the meadows 1*s.* 2*d.* In Combs the wood was worth 1*s.* per acre, in Onehouse only 8*d.*

This must be considered as rent and not produce, and estimated (a ninth being the tax) at what a farmer would give the rectors or vicars for their ground. If multiplied by 8 or 10, it will yield the amount in our money.

The great products of corn including wheat, barley, oats, rye, &c. were abundant in the county, and with this are always united wool, from the great flocks of sheep, (and query if the tithe of meat killed was not also included under vellorum,) and the continued preservation by breeding lambs of this valuable stock.

Cows and calves and oxen were numerous, but as horses were not titheable, they do not appear in these rolls.

Pigs, and little pigs (*porcelli*) abounded as of old.

Poultry were numerous in the useful families of chickens, pigeons, hens, capons, geese, cocks, and as a necessary preliminary the tithe of eggs from all these varieties was made in every parish.

Tithe of the dairy (*lactagii*) is mentioned in many parishes but not in all. Butter was paid in some, cheese in others.

Flax and hemp (*linum et cannabis*) were grown in very large quantities in the county, and were so valuable as to form a distinct tithe like hay.

Fisheries existed in places where large tracts of

mark is in the book valued at 13*s.* 4*d.* and its value in necessities about ten times more than at present.

FARMING—FEES.

marsh ground abounded, and consisted very commonly of eels, but all kinds of fresh water fish were bred.

Madder was a rare crop (*Waldingfield.*)

Parsnips appear in *Stoke by Nayland.*

Reeds were cultivated in a few places, and bushes.

Bees only paid tithe in *Coney Weston*, but they existed everywhere. The distinction may arise in favour of this parish from some one having kept a large stock and made them an artificial product in numerous hives, as they are *feræ naturæ* and so of old not titheable.

Heath was used in some places for husbandry or fuel. (*Gunton.*)

Turf was cut and used for fuel in others.

Kitchen gardens of some size appear in certain places, and apple and fruit trees.

At *Walton* the fishermen paid to the clergy a tithe upon what is called *Fishingfar.*

Teazells (employed it is likely in raising the nap on the woollen cloth made in the county) were known; and mushrooms were also articles of value.

There is a curious payment in Suffolk made by the people to the clergy called *Lokes.** I conjecture this was an offering made to God for a lucky day on which to commence any work—or from gratitude an offering made by individuals on having been prosperous and having had *loke*, or lucky days. It existed only in some parishes and not in all.

Burial fees, churchings, and marriage fees are mentioned as usual and universal.

Underwood and wood are universal products of the soil.

The agricultural produce in the county was high compared with many other places, and the midland counties are complained of as cold and subject to blights.

Herbs of various kinds, as penny-royal grew in the gardens, (*dec' albi et pullag.*—*Walsham.*)

Flax mills existed, (*Hunston, lini molend.*)

In *Blakeburn H.* it is said that no one lived who

* *It' ht q'adam quodd' re'ptu' ad eccl'am q'd vocat' LOKES.*
Elredon p.—also in *Livermere, su't ibid' iiiit lokdayes.*

FAMILY NAMES.

got their living in any other way than from agriculture.

In Thedwastre H. they began their inquisition with Rattlesden and the neighbouring parishes on the Sunday, before the abbot of Leyston and 24 magistrates.

From each Hundred they held a court, but did not always sit in the place itself but summoned the assessors and those who were examined on oath to attend. Names arising from parishes and becoming naturalized in families are seen in their origins in these and similar papers, as in Stow Hundred, where we have as part of the court John de Newton, John de Stowe, Simop de Codyngham, now simply John Newton,

FAMILY NAMES.

John Stow, Simon Codingham. In Mendlesham Hug de Cok, W. Trotter, Will. Metesharp, Will. Garlec, Adam Amerous. A very curious roll of names might be extracted from these *noms*, which compared with "Doomsday" would show the change in this nomenclature.

In Corton (H. de Lothingland) land to the value of 40*s.* per annum had been swallowed up by the sea.

In Dunwich, which is now ruined by the same conquering enemy, there were at this period five churches, a chapel of St. Mary's belonging to the templars, another chapel called Masoni Dieu, and an hospital.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1300 TO 1400.

EDWARD THE SECOND—RIOTS.

1326] Edward II. kept a Christmas at St. Edmund's Bury, when beacons were ordered to be ready in every conspicuous place, and the men of each Hundred (e. g. Stowe) were trained and kept ready to act.* This training was maintained in the town and very constantly in Upland until after 1688.† Upland from its possessing a large green (then much more extensive) appears to have been a muster place where the Hundred exercised their men, as was also the Camping land in Stowmarket, and 'Buttes' for the exercise of shooting with bows and arrows existed and were kept up by the parish officers in both these places.

1327] One of those violent riots in monastic towns which were frequent in these ages happened in Bury. The town's people rose and assisted by many thousands from all this neighbourhood, they burnt

EDWARD THE SECOND—RIOTS.

the gates of the abbey, wounded and beat the monks, robbed the monastery of its plate, jewels, and money, destroyed their charters and seal. Houses in the town belonging to the abbot were also devastated, and all his manor houses and barns in the different parishes where he held lands. One of these was in Newton, which was destroyed on this occasion, with its corn, sheep, and cattle. Such tumults were often excited by the lay manorial lords and others who envied the wealth of the monks. And they were some of those numerous indications which foretold to the Romish church her downfall. For these places were her strong holds and main support. The town's men had an enormous fine imposed on them by Edward the Third's council, who began already to shew the vigour of his administration and mind.*

* *Stowe's An.*

† M.S. Stowe ch. chests *passim*.

* *Stowe.*

HARLSTON—CREETING.

1342] Land was given in Harlston to that priory of the black canons at Butley, which Ranulph de Glanvil the famous lawyer and justiciary of England had there founded in 1171. In 1359 lands in Great Finborough were also bestowed upon the same priory.* In the second year of this reign (Edw. III.) free warren was given in Gipping, Stonham, and Creeting to the Holy Trinity or Christ Church in Ipswich, which was a priory of black canons of St. Austin, founded there in that town in 1177. An exchange of land with one *Ada de Bolonia* also was made about the same time at Creeting with this lady, who held property in the latter parish, and these black canons. Another proprietor in Creeting, named Roger de Tusseris made a grant of seven shillings a year payable out of his lands to this priory.†

1330] CREETING ST. MARY—Robert Earl Morton held the manor. He bestowed it on the abbey of Grestein in Normandy. These foreign monks deputed some one to take charge of their property and collect the rents, which was most probably done by their agent the prior of Wimynton in Sussex. For however they might neglect other things, this was never forgotten. Richard the Second (1386) made a grant of this manor to Tydeman de Lymberg a merchant, and then by his license the abbot sold it to Sir Michael de la Pole, and Mickfield was included in the same purchase.‡ This Tydeman had lent money to king Edward and was a princely merchant. Some of his family or he himself lived here, and a family of this name still resides in the Hundred. Sir Michael was made Earl of Suffolk. His father had been an eminent merchant, and the son was persecuted, attainted, and at last slain by other nobles who were jealous of his talents and despised his mercantile origin. Norman nobility before this period owed its customary rise to arms, but from this time by slow and unwilling steps, as commerce became another right hand to the country, the merchant princes of England were admitted to rank and honours. De la Pole had many partizans in this neighbourhood who suffered in his fall.

* *Tanner*, 517.

† *Ibid*, 518.

‡ *Ibid*, 511.

ONEHOUSE.

1346] A large force was sent to the aid of the Countess of Montfort in Britany, and was commanded by Sir Thomas of *Dagworth* a valiant knight. He fought a great battle with her enemies, as she was in league with our Edward the Third, and killed or took prisoners 700 nobles and knights. He was a successful general there for several years, but at length was slain in one of the numerous petty fights of that age, and thus did not return to Suffolk and enjoy a peaceful and wealthy old age like many of his brave companions.*

1356] On the 19th of September was fought the famous battle of Poitiers in France, between Edward the Black Prince having an army of 8000 English, and king John of France with a noble array of 60000 men. The Frenchmen were beaten by the patient courage and skill of the English. The king of France yielded up his sword to the victor, five to six thousand of the enemy were killed, the rest dispersed, and so many noblemen and knights taken prisoners, that their ransom enriched the captors with enormous wealth. Whilst jewels, gold and silver plate of curious workmanship, and rich garments of all kinds were so abundant, that many poor squires and men in the army returned home to their own villages or towns laden with riches. Amongst the leaders was Lord Bartholomew Burghersh of *Onehouse hall*. He was a relation of James Lord Audley, to whom the chief prize for valour was awarded by the Prince of Wales on the field of battle. He had also been one of the lords appointed by Edward the Third to guard his son in the bloody battle of Cressy. When the news of the victory at Poitiers arrived in England "solemn thanksgivings were offered up in all churches, and bonfires made in every town and village. Those knights and squires who afterwards returned to England were honoured in preference to all others."† Lord Burghersh had many privileges conferred on him by his sovereign, and lived and took a leading part in the local interests of Onehouse and the town, which doubtless blazed with bonfires at the tidings of the victory.‡

* *Froissart*.

† *Suffolk Garland—Froissart*, c. 168. ‡ See page 95.

TAXES.

1370] The great wars with France had so drained the resources of the king that continual taxation was necessary to support his army. Victory and glory, ambition and pride were gratified by the continual conquests effected by our armies, but want, poverty, and neglected agriculture afflicted the land. Arms were the only means of acquiring honour, and every second man was a soldier. A sum of money amounting to £50,000 was wanted. To raise it a tax was imposed on every parish at a uniform rate and the larger were commanded to help the smaller in each Hundred. For this purpose a census was made in every county of the number of parishes or divisions of land possessing a church. In Suffolk they amounted to 515, and the money levied on this county came to £2926. In the Hundred fourteen parishes paid £78 : 16 : 2, which is equal to £788 of our money. The county possessing the greatest number of churches was Norfolk, having 806 — Essex 400 — Lancashire now so populous then had only 58 churches. The total number of parish churches in the kingdom was 8600. In Suffolk and Devonshire however the parishes paid only £5 : 12 : 7 per church instead of £5 : 16 : 0. This was owing not so much to the poverty of this county, as from its having sent so many men to the French wars under its Earls of Suffolk. Their blood had been spent for the crown as well as their money.*

1380] Much poverty existed and many oppressions were practised upon the poor. The labourers were without work; tillage was neglected. Many absurd religious opinions were propagated amongst the people. And those who are never happy unless they can divide, and whose great object is to disunite the people, took advantage of these distressed times and preached equality and a partition of goods. Such doctrines will always be popular with the multitude. Insurrections arose in many parts of the kingdom. In these places 50,000 men were collected together from the county and harangued and headed by one John Straw. Lawyers were held by them in especial abomination and every lawyer's house was burnt, his papers destroyed, and he himself murdered if

* Stowe's An.

RIOTS.

found. Lawyers abounded more in Suffolk than in any other county; and it is reported to arise from the litigious nature of the people. A libel doubtless! however else we can account for the fact noticed.* These unhappy men beheaded the Lord Chief Justice, Sir J. Cavendish, and set his head on the pillory at Bury St. Edmund's, where many of them had been compelled to stand. Some of them avouched a religious conscience as their guide, and would only obey its motions. This principle will sanction any blasphemy however great and uphold any absurdity. They intended to put down all noblemen, gentlemen, and holders of property, and make a general division of the land. The king was to be kept to awe the rest of the kingdom. But all laws were to come from their leaders.† J. Ball a schismatical clergyman who had left the church was their principal leader. This rebellion against common sense and order, ended as all such attempted revolutions terminate when not supported by men of rank and property—they were defeated, dispersed, and 1500 of them convicted and punished. The great leader J. Ball was a priest in Kent, and for twenty years he had itinerated through these and other counties preaching against the exactions of the Romish church. Thus religion was mingled with the oppressions to which the people were subject, and added enthusiasm to the flame of civil rebellion. His text after his release by the mob from prison was,

"When Adam dolve and Evah span,
Who was then a gentle-man?"

He preached the universal equality of all men, like the Chartist and some other dissenting sects, and thus upon religious grounds fostered revolution.‡

1382] Preachers of heresy, as it was termed, began now to disturb and agitate the people. The doctrines they wished to be made prominent in the services of the church were those which we now possess in peace in our Reformed Episcopcal Church, which were held by the Primitive Church and taught by the Apostles. They visited towns, markets,

* Breviary of Suffolk, Harl. Lib.

† J. Straw's confession.

‡ Stowe's An.

HERESY.

fairs, and all places where large assemblages of people could be obtained. Their harangues however were unfortunately too often accompanied with seditious vehemence against the established institutions of the country, and the novelties of the church of Rome were assailed with coarse and indecent language. A statute was introduced into the House of Commons to empower the chief officer in every Hundred to seize all such preachers. But the Commons would not pass the proposed law. Men's minds began now to be agitated with the desire for reformation in the church. The old British protestations against Rome were revived. But no one imagined such a thing as Puritanism, or that Dissent which has existed since the Reformation. And if it had been believed that such a system could have been originated by this event, many good men would have preferred even remaining in communion with the church of Rome. A "fellowship" with the Apostles in episcopal government, was considered as necessary as a "fellowship" in doctrine by our reformers. From the Suffolk men having been always so religiously disposed, so grave, and remarkable for reflective thought, these itinerant preachers received great encouragement in the county, and especially in the towns of Ipswich, Lavenham, Stowmarket, and Hadleigh, which were the great cloth districts.*

1387] Wm. Chesterton, parson of Rattlesden an adjoining village, was by name exempted in an act of parliament from the king's (Richard II.) pardon, called a traitor, and under sentence of death if caught. He was one of the staunch adherents of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Richard the Second, who was coerced by his rebellious barons headed by the Duke of Gloucester. This town and Hundred were attached to the earl and king's party, and shewed their loyalty by defending the crown.†

Some scattered notices of Little Finborough may be inserted here, which evidence the religious impressions of each age. These deeds of piety shine like stars amid centuries which in many things though darker than our own, have left examples of

FINBOROUGH P.

dedicating property to God not yet imitated by ourselves. The church at Little Finborough was not in existence in 1086;* but it is noticed in connection with this small and distinct parish in 1340.† The division therefore of the whole of Finborough and erection of a second church must be placed between 1086 and 1340.

"A grant from Geoffrey Durefath of the church and tithes of Fineberg and of 33 acres of land in Fineberg was made to the prior and canons of Bricet *habend et tenend in propria usus*, to hold for pious uses. Lease from the prior and canons of the tithes of Fineberg to William Ladysham. Rent £1 1s. per annum. In the second year of Henry the Sixth for religious uses. *Charita Wilhelmi filii Ada de Lacesmere de toto prato quod tenuit de Wilhelmo Lesturmin in villa de Fineburgia concess: ecclesie et canonicis de Briete* for the same Christian ends, from the same earnestness after salvation. *Charita Rogeri Hovel de fossa et uno ciliaco et dimid terra arab in Parvo Fineberge. Redd. 1 denar p. an.*

"The church at Bricet was founded by Ralph Fitz Brian for regular canons and dedicated to St. Leonard the Confessor in the time of Henry the First.

"Foole's charity estate, settled by William Foole in 1671, for the use of the poor in Little Finborough, comprises a messuage called Bennett's with a garden and croft in the parish of Ringhall, about six acres."‡

* See chap. 11.

† See chap. 17.
‡ From M.S. of Rev. W. Parker, Rector of Ringshall.

PRICES.

1214] Prices of provisions by an order in council were fixed as follows—

	s. d.
Oxe stalled or corne fed - - - -	24 0
A grasse fed oxe - - - -	16 0
A fat stalled cowe - - - -	12 0
Another cow - - - -	10 0
A fat mutton corne fed, or whose wool is well growne - - - -	0 20
Another fat mutton shorne - - - -	0 14
A fat hogge of two year's old - - - -	3 4
A fat goose - - - -	0 2½
A fat capon - - - -	0 2
A fat hen - - - -	0 1
Two chickens - - - -	0 1
Four pigeons - - - -	0 1
Twenty-four eggs - - - -	0 1

Money is ten times the value it then was, so that prices have not changed much. [Stowe.] Things became however still dearer as this scale was a protecting one for the consumer, and people took higher prices in opposition to the writ—a quarter of wheat 20s.—a quarter of malt, 13s. 4d.—a quarter of salt 3s.—these last were almost famine prices. A famine price occurred in 1315, viz. 40s. the quarter. A grievous famine ensued in which "fate dogges, horses, and children were eaten." "Theeves" in prison devoured each other, and people died in thousands every where of hunger and disease. Such are God's judgments when he pleases! In 1316 the bushel of wheat fell from 10s. to 10d.

* Pickering.

† Ibid.

HAUGHLEY.

DETACHED NOTICES OF DIFFERENT PARISHES
AT SEVERAL PERIODS.

HAUGHLEY.—Robert de Ufford Earl of Suffolk, held the manor in A.D. 1370; from his son it passed to his three sisters, and probably from their marriages it came to be divided, and was in the possession of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk in the year 1450. The manor and park were held by Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and then coming to the crown, the latter granted them to John Sulyard of Wetherden. The manor is large and its court was arbitrary and had much power. Thus it was ordered that the abbot of Hales, who was impropriator of Haughley and Shelland, should erect a new pair of gallows, under a penalty of 40s. (had he cut the old ones down?) in a field, which still bears the name of gallows field. One Buxtyn also held lands under the service of finding a ladder for this gallows.*

An honour was a dignity attached by regal grant to certain lands, distinct from and superior to the general tenure of manorial rights and lordships. Of these there are only four very ancient, and of them *Hawley or Hagenorth castle* in Suffolk is one,† the others were Bononia, Dover Castle, and Peverell (Notts.) A more recent one was created for St. Osythe. Hauleigh may have had this honour from its ancient dignity as Sitomagus.‡

In 1605 the manor was worth when Edward Sulyard, esq. died £60 per annum.

In the reign of Edward the Fourth, (circa 1461,) the following persons held land there—

PRICES CONTINUED.

Wheat at this time was made into malt; but this was forbidden as tending to raise its price. The hint however is worth preserving when wheat is cheap.

1363] The prices of poultry were—a young capon 3d.—an old one 4d.—a hen 2d.—a pullet 1d.—a goose 4d.—in upland towns and markets such as Stowe they were sold at lower rates. [*Pickering.*]

1369] There was a great dearth of corn. Wheat sold for 2s. 6d. the bushel—(equal to 25s.)—barley 20d.—and oates 12d. It was called cheap when wheat was 6d. a bushel (or 5s. of our money) as in 1379. [*Stowe.*]

NEWTON—ONEHOUSE.

Hugo de Polstede	Johnes de Hotot (also of Stow.)
Will. de Gunningham	Rog. de Boyton
Thom. de Igadesthorpe	Rob. de Eschales
Rob. de Schales	
Will. de Rodham	<i>In the reign of Edw. III. 1330.</i>
Pet. de Pilevill	Robert Drury
Ric. de Burfeld	The Chaplain of St. Mary of
The daughter of Walter de	Stowe
Morham	Isabell Pudd
Rob. de Schales	Ed. Cuttinge
Thom. de Inland	Thos. Pretiman
Phu's. Bassett	Robt. Messing
Phu's. de Columbers	Rog. Appylwhate

From 1570 to 1583 the Butlers were a leading family in the parish. From 1603 to 1729 the Offwoods were the gentry and they sold the castle to Mr. Ray. Goodrich, Bacon, Soames, Smyth, Stockes, Bendish, Clopton, Musket, Longe, Ray, Philips, Tyrell, Cary, Jerningham, Wombell, are found in the short yet perpetual changes of marriage, baptismal, and funeral records in the registers.

NEWTON.—Newton hall belonged to Margaret Countess of Salisbury. (33 Hen. VIII.) She was beheaded in the tower for treason, but her estates were allowed to pass to her son Hen. Pole, Lord Montague. The manor of Collumbine hall (Stow-upland) of which the old name was Thorney Columbers, extended formerly into this parish. The alteration of the original word *Columbers*, probably the name of the gentleman who built the hall* into *Collumbine*, by the mere lapse of pronunciation, will account for the change of many names and the unmeaning terms we now possess, whereas originally each one arose (either of person or place) from some well-known and obvious quality, honour, locality, achievement, or peculiarity.†

ONEHOUSE.—Lord Burghersh who fought at Cressy obtained as a part of his reward a charter of free warren from Edward the Third. In this he included his loving wife Cecily, and dying A.D. 1370 left it with other estates to Elizabeth his daughter, married at the time to Edward de Spencer. Strange as it appears, yet it seems true, that Thorney Columbers (or Columbine hall) possessed manorial rights in this parish. The Weylands owned largely in this parish. It belongs now principally to Lady Hotham of Finborough hall.†

* *Jermyn Ad. 8196, Harl. Lib. M.S.*

† *Morant's Essex*, v. 1.

‡ See chap. 2.

* See names in Haughley.

† *Bib. Harl. 8191.*

SHELLAND—WETHERDEN.

SHELLAND.—This was originally a chapel to Haughley. Henry Lord Bourcher (A.D. 1463) held the lordship and bequeathed it to his grandson, and again the female line stepped in and it came with vast estates to his daughter Anne, who was married to Sir William Par, afterwards Earl of Essex. In 1591 the great, rash, and ambitious favourite of the Queen, the then Earl sold it. There is a manor called Rockhills within the parish which belonged formerly to the Drury's. In 1460 died Mrs. Nowell of this manor (Rekell) and willed it in trust to her husband for his life, and after to be sold for the benefit of her two daughters Margerie and Agnes.*

WETHERDEN.—The abbot of Bury held the lordship in 1281. In the year 1469 John Sulyard had a grant of free warren here. One aisle in the church was built by this family before the reign of Queen Mary. Sir John Sullarde of the family in Wetherden was Lord Chief Justice of England in the reign of Henry the Seventh.† They lived till then at Wetherden hall, an ancient and hospitable mansion, but in the latter reign this building was pulled down, and the present noble mansion (now belonging to the Rev. H. Crawford) was erected by Sir John Sulyard, who was the first man to take arms for Mary when her title to the throne was invaded by Lady Jane Grey. His activity, enterprize, and martial spirit, obtained many favours from his dark-minded and bigoted sovereign. To him as the first man who gave an impulse to the movement in her favour she owed her crown, and he was very active in afterwards carrying out the religious cruelties of her reign in Norfolk and Suffolk. Her favour however being so short-lived, and his religious (or political) hatred of the Protestant cause having been so great, on Queen Elizabeth's accession he became a retired and suspected Papist.‡

The names of Sullarde begin in the registers from 1538, which is one of the earliest known of these records, and continue till the year 1800, as brief memorials of those who have lived and suffered in stormy

* *Bib. Harl. Addenda* 8191.

† *Suf. Breviary.* Harl. Lib. an ancient M.S.

‡ *Bib. Harl. Addenda* 8191.

GIPPING—HARLSTON—DAGWORTH.

times.* Butler, Tyrell, Francis, Prettyman, Anger, &c. may also be found.

GIPPING.—William Tyrell of Gipping was the second son of Sir John, who in direct descent was the eighth from that Sir Walter whose arm slew king William Rufus.† Columbine hall manor held rights in this hamlet. The chapel belonged to Stowmarket from the earliest times, until about Hen. 8th. It is still a hamlet of that parish, and all burials and marriages, with the register of births are made and kept in the Stowmarket books. The manorial rights have been held by the Tyrell family from the reign of Henry the Sixth, and the parish belongs to them with the patronage of the chapel, as they have endowed and improved it.‡

In Wetherden church there is rather an odd epitaph on J. Daniell, esq. of Messing, Essex, who married Avice daughter of Sir Henry Tyrell, knt. of Gipping, A.D. 1584.

Here lye the bones now rotten
Of one not yet forgotten
For his vertues neare shewake dya
In a wertwile memorie,
Who from noblye gentyl blood
Yielded fruite most sweetelye goode
And despisylle worldylle pelfe
Did but heavenlye love himself.

HARLSTON.—It belonged during the wars of the Roses to the Duke of Suffolk, who always sided with the Duke of York. But when Henry Seventh obtained the hitherto bloody crown, it was forfeited, and given by him to John de Vere Earl of Oxford, who had been stripped of all his possessions by the opposite party in Edward the Fourth's reign. In 37 Eliz. by an inquisition held at Stowmarket, John Muskett, gent. deceased, was found as lord of the manor. The advowson has passed into a variety of hands, and Lady Hotham of Finborough hall is now the patroness.||

DAGWORTH.—This parish gave the name to a distinguished family, who doubtless obtained their first possessions as nameless knights in the Norman Con-

* See reign of Mary for some further notice of this family.

† See reign of Richard the Third.

‡ See notices of this distinguished family under the proper dates.

|| *Bib. Harl. Addenda* 8191.

TALBOT EARL SHREWSBURY.

quest, until these fair Saxon fields invested them with the dignity of a home and name. Sir John de Dagworth was knight of the shire for Suffolk in (15 & 16 Edw. II.) But the preservation of family possessions was made, as is so common in history and so honourable to the sex, in the female line, by Thomasine, who married Wm. Lord Furnival. One daughter only, the lady Joane, again carried Dagworth into the family of Neville, and her husband Thomas, was summoned to parliament in her right as Lord Furnival. Again the female line preserved the blood and possessions, and two daughters only, Maud and Joan, now divided the inheritance, and Maud brought part to the famous John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and the other was married to Will. de la Pole Earl of Suffolk.*

John Talbot was one of the bravest of the brave in the French wars. His heart never knew fear nor ever neglected a courtesy. The Lady Maud however could not have been attracted by his personal appearance, for it is said of him by one who surprised at his fame was yet more surprised at his person—

“This is a child, a silly dwarf,
It cannot be, this weak and writhold shrimp
Should strike such terror to his enemies.”
Shakespeare's First Part of Henry VI, act 2.

He says of himself—

“No, no, I am but shadow of myself.”

His great talents were in command, his courage and qualities were mental, and the physical force of others wielded by a soul that would not know fear, was in him what it has been in another of our great warrior statesmen Wellington, the impulsive power of one heroic mind over the minds and bodies of others.

In king John's reign during one of his itineraries, he spent (in March, 1216) the 11th at *Dagworth*, coming there from *Cambridge* on the 10th, and being at *Framlingham* on the 12th and 13th, at *Ipswich* on

* The red rose interest prevailed here, (from de la Pole) so that the ancient taverne near the church called the Rose, must be considered as the red and not the white. It is one of the oldest (as to its character) in the town and had its origin in these bloody times. *Church Chest.*

ROYAL VISIT.

this last day, and at *Colchester* on the 14th. The whole court rode very frequently at a brisk gallop during these journeys and sometimes travelled 50 miles in the day.* What would be now thought of the court with 50 ladies and gentlemen on horseback, and 50 attendants, sweeping at a gallop through the quiet streets and along the winding country roads of our counties?

A branch of this family had (time of king John) settled in Essex,† preserving the name and their connection with this parish. Many of them were brave, experienced, and highly honoured warriors.‡ In 1433 this manor was possessed by Rob. Mysterone, esq. and bequeathed to Margaret his wife. The ancient hall which long maintained its venerable existence amid these bright meadows, has yielded at last to the innovations of the age and not to the hand of time. The greater part of it was pulled down after having served as a farm house. Brave knights and noble ladies in all the chivalrous pride of those romantic ages, have often paced with hawk and hounds around the woods and fields of Dagworth and Haughley, and have returned in the evening from the long willow-covered meadows around Stowmarket which abounded in cranes and herons to these hospitable halls; but the scene has changed, the living actors lie beneath the pavements of our churches, the wild birds are gone, nursery or hop grounds have broken up their lonely retreats, and Dagworth hall has passed away like a wreath of smoke from the labourer's cottage that now reposes in forgetful care over its foundations.

GREAT FINBOROUGH.—The De Glanvilles, descendants of the famous chief justiciary,|| gave landed possessions here to the prior of Butley which this great man had founded. In 1559 they were granted to the Bishop of Ely in exchange, and that bishopric is still impropriator of the parish. In 1656 Hen-

* Daggeward, Gippewic, the Doomsday names.—*Archæologia, xxii, 158*—King John's Itinerary from the tower rolls.

† See *Morant's Essex*

‡ See the death of one in page 92.

|| See page 83.

MANUFACTURES.

North, esq. sold Finborough hall, park, and divers farms in that and the neighbouring parishes to Wm. Wollaston, esq. of Shenton Co. Lincoln.* The Wollaston family built the present hall, and were active promoters of the comfort and welfare of the parishioners and towns people. They frequently engaged in the county contests at the meetings held in Stowmarket, and the old people (alas fast departing!) recount with smiles of pleasure, and sigh over the times when Squire Wollaston and Tyrell, and twenty others came every week into the town with four and six horses to their carriages. In 1688 the Rev. Wm. Wollaston, a clergyman, was the owner of the hall. This estate is remarkable for having descended by will and otherwise for 150 years in the male line, in contrariety to so many estates in this Hundred which have been transmitted in the female.

1441] A neighbouring town called *Eye* became notorious for its having been the birth-place and residence of Margery Jordan called the witch of Eye. She in conjunction with some others formed a picture of the king (Henry the Sixth) in wax, which being exposed to the fire, was invested with such magical powers, that as it dissolved by slow degrees so the king's health it was supposed would decay and his life expire. For this ridiculous and fanciful crime they were tried, condemned, and the witch was burnt in Smithfield.†

INTRODUCTION OF WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES INTO SUFFOLK.

1336] Edward the Third, a great, magnanimous, and wise monarch, finding that nearly all the English wool passed out of the country into Holland and Belgium and was there manufactured into cloth, endeavoured to retain the vast wealth thus produced in our own country. For this purpose he sent over several agents who persuaded some of the Flemings or Dutch manufacturers to settle in England. They tempted them with freedom, better food, perfect liberty to accumulate property, and

* Addenda 8191, Harl. Lib.

† Baker's Chron. p. 187.

MANUFACTURES.

high honours. "Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton till nothing but their fulness should stint their stomachs." Their profits should be their own and not their masters, who as great capitalists realized their money from the muscles and bones of their ill-paid workmen in the Netherlands. "Their beds should be good and their bed-fellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them; and such the English beauties that the most envious foreigners could not but commend them."*

Many of the Fleming foremen and working hands who understood the business of "sorters, combers, carders, spinsters, weavers, fullers, dyers, pressers, and packers,"† came over and were settled by the king and queen Philippa in different counties. The queen herself was a Fleming and encouraged her countrymen. It was thus and at this time that Suffolk received her first woollen manufactures. They settled at Norwich where fustians were made—at Sudbury where they wove baize—at Stowmarket, and in the surrounding parishes where they made sayes, serges, and afterwards worsted stuffs. These latter became a staple article in this town, and ancient families such as *Howe*, *Spring*, *Garnham*, owed their wealth and honours to some of that name who became here large worsted weavers and gentlemen of great property. Amongst these, Richard Howe in the reign of Elizabeth, is remarkable for his numerous bequests and a large family of descendants. He had a son in London who was an eminent merchant.‡ *Worsted* in Norfolk was the first place where worsted was spun and woven into Norwich stuffs, and it received its name from this parish or town, and the peculiar fabric was then called *worsted* stuffs.§ The broad cloths seem to have been confined to the West of England, for none of them are mentioned as the usual manufactures in Norfolk, Suffolk, or Essex. Colchester possessed a large trade in sayes, serges, and baize. From this period Dutch or Flemish names begin to appear in ancient documents, and

* Fuller's Hist. 14th century.

† Stowmarket ch. M.S.

‡ Stowmarket ch. papers, *passim*.

§ Stowe's Ann. Eliz.

FACTORIES.

men like the Stowmarket Hoo or Howe, or SPRING in Lavenham, having several large factories, became the founders of even noble families. The name of WEBB was given by the king to a famous cloth maker in the West, and from him and this incident several families of the same name arose.*

1522] Cloths called vessels, or set cloths of different colours were made extensively in the town and other places in Suffolk. When wet they shrunk up. A penalty had been passed against all clothiers who thus cheated the buyer of his fair measure, but as those peculiar cloths were intended for foreign markets, "his highnesses true subjects and clothiers in Suffolk" besought the king to remit the penalty, because the home consumer was not injured. This was very specious and suspicious market morality, for the foreigner might thus be imposed on because he ought to know whether he was cheated or not when purchasing the goods, as long as their countrymen obtained an honest piece of cloth.†

1555] The government tried to correct the losses which many towns suffered from the extension of this lucrative business to the country. The clothiers who lived out of a city, borough, market, or corporate town, were prohibited from having more than two looms in their houses. The object sought was to prevent the multiplication of great factories in which capital is always sure to oppress the people, and also to assist the prosperity of certain towns. The weaving factories in the country by this wise measure were extinguished. Several of these existed in the Stow Hundred, one of them being at Harleston and another at Combs.‡ But as this was a corporate and borough town its increase was promoted by this statute, and the effect of the act generally made country clothiers remove into these kind of towns. The clothiers also "who exercised the feate or mystery of a tucker or fuller," could not keep looms, nor could those who wove keep a tucking mill. For every piece of cloth made out of the town in opposition to this act, the penalty of five pounds was enforced.

* *Fuller's Hist.* b. 1, Cent. 14.

† *Pickering's Stat.*

‡ Stowmarket ch. M.S.

STATE OF TRADE.

Bridgewater and some other places had fallen into decay in consequence of the neighbouring villages making the same cloths. At this time "clothiers, dyers, weavers, fullers, walkers, spynnars, and carders found employment here.*

In 1602 the cloth trade was in a most flourishing condition. "The artificers (of cloth) doe sett many poore persons aworke which otherwise know not how to live, especially of the woman kinde, whereof of whole villages and towns doe live and maintain themselves by spinning, that know not else what to doe to gett their living."† The maker of twenty broad cloths weekly employed 500 poor persons. These workmen were divided into breakers, dyers, wood setters, wringers, spinners, weavers, hurlers, shearman, and curriers. Wool *kembing* had been but newly introduced, and was then bringing a great accession of numbers and wealth to the population. Great quantities of yarn were carried to London and Norwich, and it was then woven into "fringes, stuffs, and other things."‡ Where clothiers abounded there the poor increased and population was excessive, but where linen thread spinning and the worsted spinning abounded, there the poor man was more comfortable.‡

The factories or establishments of these industrious and wealthy families were very different however to those now employed. The machinery used was the good old humming wheel by each "old goody's" warm fire-side in her own cottage, where in the long winter evenings she earned her penny at home in comfort and peace. The children's busy fingers moved blithly to the sound of their cheerful voices, as they helped her to card the wool which

* Black letter, folio 28, in chest. Some of these papers were owned by Thomas Howe, a rich clothier here. Folio 33, contains a curious account of the murder of Gyles Rufford of Beccles, gent, by Benedict Smith, who hired murderers for this purpose.

† *Reyce's Suff. Breviary—Addenda*, 8200, Harl. Lib.

‡ Thomas Spring of Lavenham surnamed the rich clothier married the daughter of Thomas Appleton, esq. He built two chapels in Lavenham church and the greater part of the steeple. His second wife was a Miss King of Boxford. His son Sir John Spring was knighted by Hen. the Eighth and died in 1547, and his grandson was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in one of her progresses and died in 1599. [Jermyn M.S. 8200, Harl. Lib.]

MACHINERY.

she brought from "master Hoo, or master Richard Howe, or master Scarlett, or master Cooke," in this town.* The weavers had each a loom or two in his cottage and lived in the town or in one of the neighbouring parishes, so that for six, seven, or eight miles around, the country gleamed at night in the long evenings with the quiet old-fashioned rushes dipt in tallow, by which "neighbour Doe, or goodman Hubbard, ould Garrard, Richard Enifer, or the young man Barnard," worked at his loom. And as he rested on its beam he could hear the money-getting hum of his wife and children's wheels, or the monotonous scrape of their cards, speaking of comfort, cheerfulness, and health. At the end of the week his work was carried into the town and paid for by the master. But no great mills filled with strange mysterious shaped engines, and no great factories in which hundreds of little children are imprisoned for the long weary day, then burdened the grateful soil; the only mill known here was one for fulling, and some large rooms, in which many women span and men carded together. The manufacturing population worked quietly and in peace at home, surrounded by their own little garden or children, without having their minds excited by the irresistible

* Stowmarket Ch. M.S.

STATE OF POOR.

movements of machinery, hissing and rushing to and fro beneath their careful eyes. Steam has fortunately been unable to invade the leafy retreats in our county, because we have no coal. And its vast profits have unfortunately deprived our population of all the resources of the loom and wheel, and have robbed our town of all its manufactories. Wheels were formerly to be had, with cards for wool in every house; but these old profitable friends of the poor are now rarely to be found. This change is bitterly deplored by the "ancient people;" and the poverty of the lower orders has deeply increased from this diminution of their weekly earnings. The farm labourer could in those days return to his cottage, and whilst he rested in his arm chair on a good old calf-skin of leather stuffed with feathers, his wife and children for an hour or two earned their groat or sixpence in carding, combing, and spinning around him. The town lives now as do the poor by agriculture alone; and although it flourishes, enlarges, and becomes wealthy, yet its losses from this change by steam and machinery have been great. The loss to the poor is however without a remedy. The same results with modified exceptions have taken place in all the inland towns of the county, and Lavenham is now reduced to less than half its extent in Queen Elizabeth's times.

CHAPTER XIX.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1400 TO 1500.

PROPERTY TAX.

1428] Every parish in the kingdom had a property tax levied on it. Where the living was worth ten marks, ten of that parish paid 5s. 8d. and every man in the parish 8d. Where the living was worth £10, ten parishioners had to pay 13s. 4d. and every man 8d. In cities and boroughs like Stowmarket, how-

PROPERTY TAX.

ever small, every man who possessed more than 20s. in household stuff beyond his own and wife's apparel, paid 4d. This money is to be multiplied by 6 to bring it into our standard.*

* *Stowe's Ann.*

REGAL VISIT.

1433] The attachment of mankind to those places where the dust of their kindred and ancestors reposes is not only a natural but a scriptural feeling, founded upon the hope of the resurrection, and the desire to rise amongst those whom we have known and loved. Thus Thomas Mystertone, esq. of Dagnorth, by his will left his body to be buried in the chancel of St. Peter of Stowmarket.* The custom of burying in churches was very ancient, but did not begin till the fourth century, and was then a privilege only granted to persons of rank and property. In four years afterwards died the then perpetual vicar of St. Peter in Stowe, John Harlestone.†

1433] Henry the Sixth determined on paying a visit with all his court to Bury St. Edmunds, which he accomplished at Christmas, and there enjoyed the hospitality of the Abbot and Convent until St. George's day. Great was the feasting and numerous were the amusements of hunting and fowling. It was the month of January, but a very open season, and as the king began soon to be weary of the quiet of that town and things once seen in such places lose all their relish to a courtly eye when seen again, he resolved to see the Abbot's own hall at Elmswell adjoining Wetherden.‡ There he understood the lordly Abbot had a fair house in a delightful situation, replenished with comforts, and surrounded by woods and fishponds.§ On the 23rd of January attended by a crowd of nobles and barons he entered this neighbourhood, and amused himself with much satisfaction in hawking and fishing. The Abbot, no gloomy ascetic but a true courtier, amply supplied the wants and surprised even the wishes of his numerous guests with his sumptuous presents and the comfortable luxury of his tables, which were covered with dishes of swans, partridges, and other kinds of birds, as also with *removes* (*tunc*) of pike, perch, eels, and other kinds of fish in great abundance.|| The regal praises were sufficient pay-

ELMSWELL.

ment and were freely lavished on the good cheer of Father Abbot, whilst the nobility who enjoyed such substantial proofs of his hospitality, were not backward in repeating the same thanks. There is no record of the king having entered the town on this occasion, but as his large train of noblemen and servants hawked, hunted, and fished in the neighbourhood, unless the jealousies of a rival monkish fraternity (for Stowmarket belonged to St. Osythe) were active, the probabilities are in favour of his visit, and doubtless the good folks of the town knew very well how to profit by the sale of their commodities to such a large and royal party so near them.

1446] In Melford church there are portraits in glass of Margaret Darcy wife of Wm. Tyrell of Gipping, High Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in the above year, and also of Eleanor (a Darcy) wife of his nephew Sir Wm. Tyrell, knt.* We are now approaching a remarkable event in our national history, and in which some of the Gipping family were active.†

1447] This side of the county was kept for many weeks in a continued state of agitation and excitement by the Parliament which was held at "S. Edmondsburie." The house met on the 10th of Feb, and fearing some pretended treason from the Duke of Gloucester, the roads leading to the town for some miles, and all the streets and gates were watched night and day by soldiers. Many of them died from the severity of the cold, and when Duke Humfry arrived, he soon afterwards on the 24th was found dead in his bed. Numbers of his servants and knights were hanged for a few moments, stripped naked, marked rapidly on their bodies with a cold knife as if about to be quartered, and then suddenly their pardons were read and they were liberated. The Marquess of Suffolk, de la Pole, was the principal actor in these scenes. He held land at Creeting in this Hundred, and his adherents here were numerous. He was now created Duke of Suffolk. In 1450 his enemies in the Commons obtained his ban-

* Addenda Harl. Lib. 8199.

† *Ibid.*

‡ "Ut solet humana conditio declinare ad caria, et appetere semper novas." The account is taken from the Abbot Curtey's Register by Mr. Ord. *Archæologia* 15. 65.

§ *Admodum competenter reparatum.*

|| *Varis et sumptuosis placaris exennis.*

* M.S. from R. Almack, esq. Melford.

† See page 104, this was the father of Sir James.

DE LA POLE.

ishment from the king, and on the 3rd of May he took ship at Ipswich and sailed for the Continent. He was intercepted by a tower ship, taken prisoner, and his head struck off on the side of a cock boat. His body lay on the sands and was reverently conveyed by one of his chaplains to Wingfield in this county, and there received Christian burial. His wife was Alice, grand-daughter to Geoffrey Chaucer the famous poet.

1453] The Earl of Shrewsbury, John Talbot, who married one of the heiresses of Dagworth hall, died in France in one of those fields of battle where he had earned so hardly many honours.* Shot through the thigh with an harquebus, his horse was slain under him, and his son in fighting over him perished with thirty gentlemen of courage and name. His lady was probably at Dagworth or at some other of his halls at this period. He was buried at Rouen in Normandy. He had by the inscription on his tomb eleven titles of nobility, was knight of three orders, and great marshal to Henry the Sixth in France. The power of England in France, our hereditary foe, had been declining for some years, and with his death and that of other great warriors, we lost Paris, and all other possessions in that country except Calais.† The women in France during his life and afterwards were in the habit of saying to their crying children, "be quiet, the Talbot is coming." King Edward the Fourth had been contracted to Eleanor his daughter by the lady of Dagworth, but the beauty of Lady Gray whom he met whilst hunting induced him to break the engagement, and the rejected lady was afterwards married to Sir John Butler, baron of Sudeley. The retirement of Dagworth has felt the disappointments and wayward fancies of this vain world.

1455] Wm. Duffield was now vicar of Stowmarket, but of him we only know that he lived here and was at the same time rector of Rougham, and Rattlesden, as well as official to the Archdeacon of Sudbury. So that his preferment was altogether of some value.‡

* See page 97. † Baker's Chron. in loco.
‡ Jermyn M.S. Harl. Lib. Stow. H.

MANNYNG—TYRELL.

1456] Thomas Mannyng de Stowmarket, a wool comber died, and left property in different bequests "in the hamlets of Chilton and Thorney, lying within the said town of Stow." This trade was then extensive and flourished largely in the neighbourhood.*

1462] Wm. Tirrell, esq. from his having been found on the losing side in the fatal wars of the Roses, and attached to the house of Lancaster or the Red Rose, was beheaded on Tower hill by Edward the Fourth.†

1471] Sir Wm. Tyrell, knt. was killed on the Earl of Warwick's side fighting against Edward the Fourth at Barnet, after the romantic flight from England of that monarch, the Earl of Warwick's usurpation of the government for six months, the king's return, and the defeat of the Earl's army at the above town. The Tyrell family had aided with the house of Lancaster as the ancient party badge of their house. Their blood had been shed on the scaffold in its cause and one of them again fell, for no quarter was given by the Yorkists, and a fearful slaughter was made of the conquered Lancastrians.‡

1483] The usurper Richard the Third of the house of York, had now violently ascended the throne, but his two nephews remained prisoners in the tower. Having shed so much blood to obtain the crown, more was necessary to secure it. Crime once committed is insatiable in its demands upon the guilty. The actors in these cruel murders are vividly described by one of our old annalists, and having been connected with the hamlet of Gipping and Gipping hall, their deeds (in an abridged form) will not be uninteresting to the reader.

Richard had not found in Sir Robert Brakenbury the governor of the tower, that willing agent in this deed of darkness he desired. On his refusal to murder the Princes, "he exclaimed to a secret page of his, ah! whom shall a man trust. Those that I have brought up myself, even those fail me." "Sir, (quoth his page) there lyeth one on your pallet without, that I dare well say to doe your grace's pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse," meaning this by Sir James TIRELL, which was a man of

* Ibid. † Stowe's An. ‡ Ibid—Hume in loco.

RICHARD THE THIRD.

right goodlye personage and for nature's gifts worthie to have served a much better Prince if he had well served God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit. The man had an high heart and sore longed upward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped. Upon this page's words, king Richard arose (for this communication had been sitting at the draught, a convenient carpet for such a council,) and came out into a pallet chamber on which he found in bed Sir James and Sir Thomas TIRELL, of person alike and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions. Then saide the king merrily to them, 'what Sirs, bee ye in bedde so soone.' And calling by Sir James, brake to him secretly his mind in this mischievous matter, in which he found him nothing strange." The next day he was sent with a letter to Brakenbury, ordering the governor to deliver up all the keys and command of the tower of London to Sir James for one night only, therein to do the king's pleasure. And this being done, Sir James appointed that night to begin and finish this dark businesse. "To the execution whereof he appointed one Miles Forrest, one of the four that kept the princes, a fellow flash'd in murther before time. To him he joyned one John Dighton his owne horse keeper, a bigge, broad, square, strong knave. Then all the other being removed from them, this Miles Forrest and John Dighton about midnight (the seely* children lying in their beds) came into the chamber and sodainely lapping them up among the clothes, so to be wrapped them and entangled them, keeping downe by force the feather bed and pillowes hard unto their mouths, thatwithin a while, smothered and stifled, their breath failing, they gave up to God their innocent soules into the joyes of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed. Which after that the wretches perceived, first by the strugling with the paines of death, and after long lying still, to be thoroughly dead, they laid their bodies naked out upon the bed and fetched Sir James to see them, which upon the sight of them, caused those murderers to bury them at the staire foot, meetely deep in the ground under a great heape of stones."†

* Seely, *simple*.

† Stowe's *Annals*, *in loco*.

TYRELL.

The doubts which have been sought to weaken or destroy the accounts of the murder of the two princes in the tower, originated in the desire to be ingeniously singular, or unnecessarily captious over the ancestral honour of a York descent. There can be no doubt whatever of the murder having been perpetrated.* Any fact of this nature may be rendered more obscure by an ingenious antiquary, who will be at the pains to forget some words and lay a stress on others, who will enlighten some circumstances by his reasonings, whilst his silence casts additional obscurity on others.

Sir Thomas Tyrell brother of this Sir James is mentioned as Master of the Horse to the king, and this statement appears contradictory. But what is more probable than that Richard finding from the skilful manner in which the dark deed had been done, that he had a man of energy and determination in Sir James, would supersede Sir Thomas, and confer this post of honour and trust upon one who was now fairly embarked in the same desperate course of criminal strife as himself? Sir Thomas may have silently reproved the actors in this bloody sacrifice, and in the suspicious atmosphere of such a court as Richard's, a downcast look and negative movement of the head would be quite sufficient to cause any man to be disliked and disgraced.

The pardon of the crown removed the stain in the blood and restored the family to their possessions and ancient hall at Gipping. This Sir James had all those elements of character, which in an evil court abounding with temptations, too readily yield to criminal commands. "The man had a high harte and sore longed upward, not rising so fast as he hoped, beying hindred and kept under by Richard Ratcliffe and Sir Wm. Catesby, which longing for more partners of the Prince's favour, nameli not for him whose pride thei knew would bear no pere, kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust."†

Sir James Tyrell was much employed and trusted by Richard. He had offices of dignity and lucrative importance bestowed on him by various warrants.

* *Archæologia*, v. 1, 361.

† First year of Richard the Third, p. 111. ib.

TYRELL.

He was made guardian of minors and their lands; at another time he received money for the king amounting to £3000, which was bestowed upon him at Calais; he was steward of divers lordships in Wales and the marches; supervisor of the castle and town of Guisnes; constable of the castle of Dundagelle (in Cornwall); commissioner in seizing the lands and castles of the king's opposers, and was one of the most active persons about the camp and in the government of the Usurper.* Richard was most politic in securing partizans to his throne by small but numerous grants of pensions, gifts, and privileges amongst all classes; and burgesses, citizens, merchants, physicians, the clergy, gentry, knights and barons who adhered to him, were all gratified by his wise attentions.†

1541] There is a room in Beauchamp's tower in the tower of London, which was formerly used as a prison for state criminals. It is now a guard room, and on its conversion to this employment in 1796, a number of inscriptions were discovered, made by the unhappy prisoners with nails in the walls. Amongst these is one of a William Tyrell (supposed of this family) in Italian. It may be thus translated—

Since fortune hath chosen that my hope
Should go to the wind to complain; I wish
The time were destroyed: my planet being ever
Sorrowful and discontented.

* *Bib. Harl.* 433, 593, &c.

† See the same curious volume, which is a singular record of the activity of his politics in his short reign.

TYRELL.

Was the prisoner condemned and did he sigh for the hour in which a sharp remedy should in a moment cure all his ills?*

* *Archæologia*, v. 13, p. 87.

PRICKS, &c.

1438] Great scarcity arose from unseasonable weather and storms. Famine prices were in the markets, which are mentioned as wheat 2s. 6d. per bushel—wine 12d. a gallon—bay salt 1s. 2d. the bushel. [Stowe's *An.*] In 1440 the prices were more frightful—wheat 3s. per bushel—malt 1s. a quarter—oats 8d. a bushel—beans, pease, and barley bread were made by the poor. And Stephen Browne mayor of London sent for rye to France. This relieved the wants of the country in some measure, but in these and other country places, the people were in such extremity as to make bread out of fern roots. National distress by famine is a direct chastisement from God, and nature then becomes like the ancient prophet a warning voice to preach repentance and obedience. Stowe's *An.*

1463] A quarter of wheat at London 2s., in Norfolk and Suffolk 1s. 8d.—barley 20d.—oats 14d.—in ditto, oats and barley 12d.—malt 20d. Stowe's *An.*

1471] The art of printing was brought into England by William Caxton a mercer of London, who printed the first book in Westminster abbey.

1471] Corn might be exported when wheat was 6s. 8d. per quarter—rye 4s. and barley 3s. It was then considered abundant, and the stock in the country more than sufficient for the consumption. Baker's *Chron.* 198.

1486] Wheat 3s. the bushel and bay salt the same price. Stowe's *An.*

1489] A great drought and a load of hay which usually sold for 5s. cost 15 or 17s. Ibid.

1499] A quarter of wheat 4s. and bay salt 4d. the bushel. It is very curious to remark how salt and wheat rose and fell together.

The descent of the honourable and ancient family of the Gipping Tyrell may be seen in this short abstract of the pedigree.

Sir John Tyrell of Heron in Essex, treasurer of the household to king Henry the Sixth

Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of William de Coggeshall, Essex.

Several children born in Essex

William Tyrell of Gipping in Suffolk, sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk, 24 Henry the Sixth

Margaret, daughter of Robert Darcy of Maldon

Sir James Tyrell, kn. master of the horse to Richard the Third after his first coronation—superintended the murder of the two Princes—beheaded for treason May 6th, 17 Henry the Seventh

Anne, daughter to Sir John Arundell of Cornwall

Sir Thomas Tyrell, master of the horse, but superseded I conjecture

Sir Thomas Tyrell of Gipping, who had a special pardon from Henry the Seventh, April 13th, 19 regni—and on the 19th April, 22 regni, a restitution in blood and to all his estates

Margaret, daughter to Christopher Lord Willoughby

Sir John Tyrell only son and heir

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Munday.*

* Pedigree in Herald's Office. This can be extended without interruption to the present day from the registers in Stowmarket.

GIPPING CHAPEL.

The chapel at Gipping was built originally it is supposed by the fraternity of St. Osythe at Stowmarket; for the abbot in 1340 possessed its patronage, and received as rector its fees and offerings.* But the present building is a more recent erection and must date from 1460 to 1490. It was rebuilt by Sir James Tyrell, the master of the horse to Richard the Third, but whether after or before the tragical events in this chapter is uncertain. The battle of Bosworth field where Richard fell occurred in 1483. If Sir James was not beheaded (as some historians assert,)† then it is likely the chapel may have been intended as a mark of humility and repentance. To favour this supposition, there is a legend in carved stone over the door into a room (which cannot have been intended as a vestry,) or cell for private devotions—"PRAY FOR SIR JAMES TIRELL AND DAME ANNE HIS WIFE." The chapel is a small but handsome building in the architecture of the age, and

* See chap. 17.

† *Hume in regno.*

GIPPING CHAPEL.

possesses many curious monograms, rebuses, and mottoes with the arms of the family by intermarriage and single, carved in stone around the walls. It has originally had a beautiful painted Eastern window, and much of the glass remains, although it is mutilated, having been broken by the Puritan Dissenters, and then patched together again without any reference to legs, arms, or heads. The crest of the family (a peacock's tail in the mouth of a boar,) in a large compartment remains, and three good figures are almost perfect, which appear to have been Dame Anne, a son of Sir James, and an abbot, perhaps that of St. Osythe, as passing over to him the patronage of the chapel at its re-edification.* The family have always been buried in Stowmarket church, and the chapel and north aisle contain their remains for more than 400 years.

* *Tirell militi: Anne—fili predicti Jacobi—: Tirell: animæ—Ætalis suæ.* On a buttress in stone—*Gioyne que boomg.*

CHAPTER XX.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1500 TO 1600.

BALDRIC—SULYARD.

1513] Sir T. Baldric son of Richard *Baldric*, gent. of Stowmarket, was Lord Mayor of London. Amongst some others the names and arms of *Mountfort* of Stow, *Rivett* of Stow, *Keble* of Stow, *Crane* of Stow, *Tyrell* of Gipping, are described as gentry then living in the town. Sir T. B. was a mercer. His daughter was married to Lord Rich.*

1516] Sir John Sulyard of *Wetherden* was Lord Chief Justice of England and died in this year. His arms in very ancient glass are to be found in Mel-

SULYARD.

ford church. Sulyard quartering Gules of Welby and impaling Andrews of Bailham.*

1516] There is a long circumstantial account of "a miracle of our blessed Ladye of Grace at *Gippeswiche*," done on the 25th of April in the reign of Henry the Eighth, upon the daughter of Sir Roger Wentford of Essex, a damsel of sixteen years. It excited prodigious interest in this neighbourhood. The abbot of Bury himself attended, and multitudes of men and women so crowded the chapel that none

* M.S. Harl. Lib. *Jermyn Addenda*—Arms. Suffolk.

* M.S. R. Almack, esq. Melford.

ROOD OF GRACE AT IPSWICHE.

scarcely could stir. It was repeated for several days and the sight of the Holy Image wrought the cure. The young lady "was many wayes vexed and troubled with the deville's appearing to her, so that she had utterly forgotten Gode and all his workes." She tried to kill herself. But the virgin having appeared to her, bearing a picture of "our Ladye of Grace at Gippeswiche," she was brought into the church. As soon as she saw the image the fittes abated and she became well. The same effect followed here as in her dream, for as soon as she pronounced the words, "Oh Ladye of Grace!" the deville went out of her. She returned home and was again seized with "the tormentes and fittes, and again brought to the chapel. Sir Richard Muntford, Sir William Walgrave, Sir James Welowby, Sir Thomas Terell, Mayster Thos. Caye, with other gentlemen, as beholders." All the curious appearances in this case and the whole malady are easily explained, by the admission that the girl laboured under a severe form of hysteria, and cured herself by the strong nervous impressions she made on her own mind. The letter is written to Cardinal Wolsey,* and shows how easily in those days pious persons imposed on themselves and others, and attached miraculous powers to certain places and images, which being visible objects became then invested with supernatural attributes, and were employed by the different priests to enlarge their influence and increase the wealth of these images and churches. After such a (*miracle*) cure by the sight of the image, that parent must indeed have been cruel who in any similar case would have refused his child permission to visit the celebrated shrine, under the nervous persuasion that it would benefit her

* A piece of ground on which part of the town is built, near Regent st. is called *Cardens*. This is a contraction by our usual English habit of clipping the words, of *The Cardinals* into *Cardens*. The property belonged to Cardinal Wolsey and formed a part of what was seized by the king on his fall. There is a man living in Stowupland who claims to be a descendant of the family by a brother of Wolsey's father. His name is Wolsey. His grandmother on the father's side lived to be 112 and died at Mellis. She spun wool till she was 100 years of age, and retained her faculties to the last, but was blind during the latter two years of her life. She had heard in her youth of *man ploughs* having been used in Suffolk in old times. (See chap. on *Doomsday*.)

A GENERAL SURVEY.

languiishing health. In these cases we must relieve the great majority of the priesthood from all design to impose, and from all mercenary motives. Those who derived benefit in the chapel to their health, were most anxious to testify their gratitude to God by gifts of money and goods. To receive them was right, and thus wealth from such an incident as this would flow in a golden stream for a century to such an image.* When men became enlightened, and the leading spirits of the age perceived how grossly such superstitious notions imposed on and deluded the people, they laid hold of these occurrences and employed them to urge the popular excitement against the Romish system. This famous image of our Ladye at Ipswich, whose fame had filled the counties of Suffolk and Essex, was ignominiously brought to London as a senseless block, like any old Pagan idol and burnt in twenty years after this occurrence.

1522] A general survey was made of England. Commissioners were appointed for this purpose in different places. They directed a writ "to the Baly and Chiefe Constable of each Hundred," directing them to make a return of all persons above the age of sixteen, with the value of their property. These men were to assemble armed with their accustomed weapons, of bowes, bills, arrowes, artillery or harness for the war, at some fixed place in each of the several Hundreds, which in this neighbourhood was *Thorney Green* in Upland. The lord of every towne or stewards were also to be named. The parsons of the townes and what they be worth a yeare; the names of strangers or "aliants then living in each town, village, or hamlet; the yeerlie value of every man's land within the Hundred, with the stocks of cattle;" the trades or mystery exercised in each town; the pensions going out of all lands to any spiritual house or persons. This appears the first indicating finger of the subsequent spoliation of religious houses, and if these returns were properly made, before the suspicion of such a seizure was excited, the information thus obtained must have been very valuable, and may have been useful in directing

* Harl. Lib. 651, p. 186. in M.S. as all I quote from this source is.

DISTURBANCES.

the king to lay his hands upon this vast accumulation of property. The whole of this information was produced in writing, properly certified. One of the commissioners for this part of the county was John *Tirell*, esq. of the *Gipping* family.*

1525] The vast treasure (two millions) accumulated by Henry the Seventh, had been wasted by the present monarch (Henry the Eighth.) But his passions and appetite for profuse expenditure were insatiable. He therefore with his privy council arbitrarily demanded the sixth part of every householder's property, and appointed commissioners to collect it in each county. This was resisted by all classes with murmuring complaints, and in some places by tumultuous assemblages of the common people. In this county the Duke of Suffolk sat in commission, and assembled in the midst of the clothing district of which this Town and Lavenham was the centre, the rich clothiers. They were persuaded by his courteous policy to assent to the measure. But on returning to their homes at Lavenham, Sudbury, Hadleigh, and other places in the neighbourhood, they were obliged, in order to meet the tax, to dismiss numbers of their artificers and work-people. These resorted then to their rude means of changing a law by violent resistance, and assembled in tumultuous crowds, armed as they best could, many of them "being in harness,"† and rung alarms on the church bells in this and all the surrounding towns. The duke collected what forces he could muster from the militia, and broke down the bridges. This checked their advancing against him to Bury. And the Duke of Norfolk having collected a body of forces in that county, this dangerous disturbance appeared likely to be encountered with success. He despatched a herald to them, for they appear to have been lying in considerable force in the neighbourhood

* There were 40,000 churches in England and 13,000 parishes. A property tax was granted by the Commons. 2s. in the pound on every man who was worth more than £20.—1s. on every one worth £2 to £20, and 4d. on every one below 40s. and above 16 years. This was paid in two years. *Stowe's Ann.*

† In body armour.

DISTURBANCES.

of this town, whilst he was at Edmundsbury. The name of their leader was demanded—"Poverty," exclaimed *John Green*, a man fiftie years old, "Poverty is both cause and captain. The rich clothiers, and particularly *Spring* of Lavenham, have been obliged to dismiss their workmen, because of the tax." The duke with faire words and honied speeches pacified the men, and promised them redress. A certain number of their leaders presented themselves with halters about their necks to the lords at Bury in token of submission. In a few days the whole of this dangerous assemblage was dissolved, and all returned to their homes. The collection of so large a sum appears to have been impossible. The writs for the commission were cancelled, and the disturbance ceased. These districts were then subject to those periodical distresses which seem to be the necessary attendants of a manufacturing population. Agriculture regulates the amount of population which it supports by a law of self-adjustment, but the population supported by manufactures is always fluctuating and open to calamity from the caprices or fashion of multitudes and nations.*

1537] There was a great rood or image at Ipswich highly honoured by all the neighbourhood, and to which pilgrimages were made. So that if any devout person failed in attaining in prayer to St. Mary at *Stowe*, or Old Newton, or *Gipping*, the object of their desires, a journey to Ipswich and an offering made to the wooden "image of our Ladye of Grace" there, was supposed in many cases efficacious. This was the teaching and this is still the belief of Popery.† These roods or great images, which had been so notoriously abused to superstitious purposes were broken or burned by order of the government, and the many impositions practised through them on the people were exposed. Reformation was now proceeding with gigantic strides, and bringing ruin and desolation upon the many noble buildings and broad lands devoted to God by the piety or the superstitious fears of former ages.‡ Its attendants, popular violence,

* *Stowe's Ann.*

† *Baker's Chron.* 286. see p. 105.
‡ See chapter 14, or *St. Osythe*.

REFORMATION AND ROBBERY.

and the destruction of many sacred things in monastic churches, were felt here as in other places. The abbot's tomb appears to have been broken up, the organ was injured, but this anti-popish spirit retained still a wholesome reverence for much that had not been abused, and it was not until 1645 that a complete and wholesale destruction of so many venerated relics of former ages was made by the Dissenters. On the dissolution of the monastery the church plate vanished. It was either seized by Sir T. Darcie or carried off by the monks. One cup only remained, which still exists with its ancient cover. But the other holy vessels were all of pewter until the 17th and 18th centuries, when offerings of silver plate were made by different persons to God and the church. How the bells escaped we do not know, for the whole eight remained in the steeple. Perhaps the reformatory spirit being strong in the town, and the place having been of some small importance, it was deemed advisable by the spoliators of the church to be indulgent to the parishioners and neighbourhood, in thus sparing to them the airy music of the many associations connected with the bells of their church.

1549] An act was passed by which all the missals, grailles, processionales, antiphones, and all such books used in different churches in the service, should be delivered over to the churchwardens, mayors, bailiffs, or constables in each parish or town. By them they were to be delivered to the bishop who was to destroy them, or see them destroyed. The reformed liturgy, our present Prayer-book, taken out of all the oldest services, and consisting in many instances of prayers used in or soon after the times of the Apostles, was ordered to be placed in all churches instead of those various service books. A remarkable memorial of this act still remains to us in our papers. It is four large quarto pages of a "graille" or service book used at the altar in our church, and destroyed by the churchwardens, who used it as the cover for some of their accounts. It is much defaced, but the brilliant illumination of some of the letters remain. It consists of extracts from the Revelations in Latin and some prayers. The Wardens thus complied with the

OLD PAPERS.

Reformation, and by their thrifty care in making the parchment serve as a cover for their paper accounts, preserved from the fire this curious relic of ancient times.*

1550] To this date may be also referred (under the reign of Edward the Sixth) the introduction of the reading desk into this and other churches, on the national alteration of the service from Latin (formerly the universally spoken language in the empire) into the English or vulgar tongue; and from its having been all chanted to a scriptural alternation of prayers and praises. One of the contemporaries with these events thus describes the desk in 1560. "The minister saith his service commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot provided for the purpose; by which means the ignorant do not onelie learne diverse of the psalmes and usual praier by heart, but also such as can read do prae together with him."†

* Collier, 2, Edward VI.—Parish Record book No. 3.
† Hollinshed's Description of England, p. 138.

NAMES IN 1488 AND OTHER DATES, OF RESPECTABLE RESIDENTS SIGNING DEEDS IN CHURCH CHESTS.

John Kebill, in Stowmarket	John Hamond
John Hotot, Esq.	John Dynegny
John Kebell de Degowys,	John John
or Degooe	John William
John Degow	John Pueling
Robert Kebell	John Robert
Thomas Kyng	

For a feofment to property called Symmys, in Saxton street held under Thorney Halle. The seals on this deed are still perfect.

In another of 1490—Henry VII.

J. Hoes, Esq. de Thorney, Hamelet de Stowmarket	John Godard
Thomas Baldry	with some of the former names.
John Degow	Ab. Mylle
Thomas Barnard	Nic. Collemans

Henry the Seventh, 27th year, A.D. 1507.

Thos. Baldry of Ipswiche	Rob. Kebell, Stowmarket
John Kebell, sen. Stowmarket	Rob. Kebell, jun. "
Roger Hamonde	John Godard "
Thos. Cosyn	John Kyng "
Wm. Cokke	John Kebell of Degoe
Rich. Baldry	"

Sign a deed for holding town land in Saxton de Thorney Hamlet de Stowmarket.

PURGATORY.

THE FICTIONS OF POPERY.
THE BAD ROADS THEN IN USE, WITH THE
METHOD OF REPAIRING THEM.

1523] Amongst the many superstitious corruptions which the Romish system of teaching Christianity had introduced into the English church, the most profitable was the doctrine of purgatory. In this middle state of punishment, the people were taught that all souls except those of the most exalted saints or most detestable sinners, would enter after death.

NAMES CONTINUED.

1569] *STOWUPLAND*—one of the first parish meetings—*before* John Goodyn, Will. Kible, jun., Step. Kible, Giles Kible, Will. Kible, sen., Thomas Kible, Wm. Walker, John Wright, Thos. Garrard, Thos. Dryur, Thos. Goddard, Thos. Gille, Rob. Wright, Ricd. Kible, John Welles, Thos. Soomes, John Beal.

1566] Francis Codd and Rob. Goddard chosen Ch. Ws.

1587] *Before* Thos. Hyram, vicar.

1596] John Browne, Esq., John Barnewell, Gent.

1599] John Brom, Esq. and Agnes his wife

1598] Thos. Miller, Thos. Dancott, Rob. Haywarde.

1597] *Before* Wm. Peagrime, vicar.

1599] *Before* Agnes Gardner, widdowne.

17 Elizabeth, names of respectable residents, A.D. 1575.

John Wright	John Goddarde
Rob. Goddards	John Edwarde
John Byrne	Thomas Kible

STOWMARKET

Henry the Eighth, 7th year, A.D. 1516.

Jacob Hegell, Esq.	John Hotot, Armig. Esq.
John Kebyle	Roger Weye
Rob. Kebyll	Thos. Andrue
John St. John	Jacob Tyrell, Armig.
John Kyng	

Henry the Eighth, 22nd year, A.D. 1531.

John Odye de Thorney	John Paleye
Hamlet de Stowmarket	John Pegon
John Hamond	

Edward the Sixth, 4th year, A.D. 1550.

John Godard	Wm. Byrdie
Hen. Byrdie	Rob. Godard
Rob. Kebyll	

Land in Saxton, Hamlette de Stowmarket

Wm. Byrdie de Thorney halle

Philip and Mary, 4th year, A.D. 1557.

Sir John Tyrell, knyght, (the persecutor)	
John Godard	The towne lands of Thorney
John Kebill	and Saxton Hamlets of
Rob. Baldry	Stowmarket, now Upland.
Three other Kebylls	
Thos. Kyng	
Wm. Walker	

Taken from old deeds in Stowmarket church chests.

PURGATORY.

Here they were purified in flames for a limited number of years from their sins of infirmity or wilfulness. Christ's salvation had secured them heaven at last, but his atonement it was said in flat contradiction to Scripture, did not take away *all* sin, but left *much* in the power of the church. And this amount of unpardonable sin could be paid for, either in person in purgatory by the sinner when he went there, or in his money or lands here before he died, by his leaving property which was expended in paying a priest to offer a mass or sacramental service for the relief of his soul. Because in each sacrifice or mass, when Christ's *corporal* body was supposed to be actually offered up, the sacrifice on the cross was said to be repeated, and thus all its atoning power was again renewed before God in behalf of some specified soul then languishing in purgatory, which was neither heaven nor hell.

When persons died believing this fable, they were most desirous naturally to have their period of purification in these fires shortened. And as this could be done they were taught to believe by masses; money and land in vast amount was left for this purpose. These gifts must not be confounded however with *tithes*, which were given expressly to perpetuate the religion of Christ in every parish—or with the building of churches and many religious houses, which were erected, as their founders expressly say, "for the love of souls yet unborn," or "out of love to God and Christ," or "in honour of God and his servants"—but they were distinct bequests made for the specific purpose of praying souls out of this imaginary purgatory.

These foundations were generally called CHANTRIES. They "consisted of salaries allowed to one or more priests to say daily mass for the souls of their deceased founders and friends."* Their exact number in the kingdom is unknown, but it was at least 2374, and 100 existed in this county.† In St. Paul's church at London 47 chantries were founded and well endowed, varying from £12 to £47 per annum, or £70 to £280 each. And scarcely any large paro-

* Fuller's Ch. Hist.—Abbeys.

† See chapter on Monasteries.

CHANTRIES.

chial or conventional church was in existence without one or more of them connected with it, when Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth determined on their suppression. They were the last but one of the Popish foundations which fell beneath the rough hand of the Reformation.

Stowmarket possessed one of these chantries, and the bequest constituting this service was made on the first of July in 1523. A lady named Margaret Gowle lived at *Chilton hall* near the town, and left about 43 acres of land in the hamlet of Chilton in the hands of feoffees "to the use of a priest service in the church of St. Peter in Stowmarket, to pray for my soul, and the souls of John Dunche and Thos. Gowle my husbands; Sir Thos. Blomvill, Sir Thos. Crowe, and Emma his wife, for the term of 99 years." At the expiration of this period she doubtless supposed that her friends and self would have been freed from part of their purgatorial pains by virtue of these masses, and no occasion would any longer exist for the whole of the prayers. She therefore directed her then existing feoffees to sell the lands, and one half of the proceeds was to go "to the making of highways where it is most needfull between *Stowe* aforesaid and *Ipswiche*, and the other half to be divided into two parts (that is to say) the one part I will and bequeathe to a priest to sing in the church of St. Peter in Stowe aforesaid for my soul, and the souls afore rehearsed, and the other part to the reparations of the said church."^{*}

How this property was managed during the acts of the Reformation from 1531 to 1590 we do not know. But it is most likely after the suppression of these chantries as superstitious, vain, and contrary to the gospel and ancient doctrine of the Church of England, the trustees employed the rents to their own advantage, and they thus escaped a seizure by the crown. At the dissolution of the abbey two chantry priests were attached to Stowmarket, besides the two vicars. The employment of the last was to offer up daily or weekly prayers for *all men*, or for some particular souls, under the abuse of the first grand pri-

STOWMARKET MASSES.

mitive idea. Rome had in this case as in a multitude of others vitiated the first institutions of the church. For where is a holier, a more beautiful, a more scriptural duty than when a clergyman is specially appointed to pray that the salvation of the world may be effected, the souls of Christians sanctified, and their bodies preserved? The names of these two priests were sir Robert Denham and sir —— Gild. They were each allowed a pension of four marks yearly whilst they lived, as a compensation by the crown for the loss of their payments out of this and other property.^{*} (A.D. 1555.)

1623] A chancery suit instituted against Mr. H. Blomfield by Mr. J. Howe and others in the town, terminated in a decree upon the statute of charitable uses, and the land was then divided into two parts. Of the first moiety the rental is appropriated "to making and repairing the high road between Stowemarkett and Ipswiche." This is a beautiful road, and those who travel on its smooth surface will do well to gratefully remember Mrs. Margaret Gowle, who had often been sorely jolted by the execrable roads which then existed in most parts of England and especially in this county. Whilst the remaining portion was divided also into shares, of which one part went to the use of the poor in Stonham, and the remainder still belongs to Stow church, and is there expended according to the bequest of this good lady.

Sir John Poley, Sir George Waldegrave, Sir Rob. Crane, Lord Mayor of London and son of Mr. Crane of Stowmarket, Sir Francis Needham, and Sir Roger North, who were *knight*s, sometimes resident in or connected with the town, were the trustees appointed by the court, together with Thos. Goodwyn, Edmd. Poley, Nica. Bacon, Josia Fawether, Thos. Tyrell, Thos. Wingfield, Harbottle Wingfield, Richd. Bendishe, Myles Ferneley, and John Church, *esquires*, residents in the Hundred are named. Then follow, Samuel Flick, John Lea, Samuel Lewes, George Starling, and George Getterich, *gentlemen*. A fourth rank concludes the deed with John Brasier, Richard

* Vicar's charity book, No. 1.

|| Norwich Register.

HIGH ROADS.

Draper, Symond Rosier, Rob. Tastard, George Partrick, and Wm. Loekwood, *yeomen.**

The highways had been generally throughout the kingdom in a wretched state for hundreds of years. The wisdom of making great roads had been known to the Romans, but these in most places had been long since, even in 1523, broken up and dilapidated. At this period they were only broad green sward tracks of 200 yards in breadth, kept clear of trees by the county lest robbers should be able to harbour in them and shoot their arrows into the king's subjects. But no attempt was made until 1555 seriously to remedy their great defects. The holes, muddy quagmires, rushes, fair bits of green turf, and then a great floundering slough, were numerous, and rendered all travelling in carriages or any wheeled vehicle wretchedly wearisome and even dangerous. Our good Ladye Gowle, or Dunche had suffered much in this way when she be思t her of leaving her broad acres to assist in mending the road between Stowe and Ipswich. Thus, so late as 1630 Sir Simond D'Ewes relates how his carriage broke down in the roads between Stowe Langtoft hall and Lavenham, owing to its badness which was a common occurrence, and he with his lady were in danger of being killed. This great Antiquary was then going to reside at Lavenham, because he had quarrelled with his rector.†

In 1556 they are described "as very noysome and tedious to travel in and dangerous to all passengers

* In 1653 a new deed of feoffment for this property was made, in which are the following names, residences, and designations—J. Poley, esq., J. Howe, gent., Rob. Eyre, J. Kebble, Thos. Kebble, J. Heyward, P. Brasier, J. Goddard, Thos. Goddard, Rich. Rivett, Wm. Heyward, J. Shyn, Wm. Garrard, Israel Barrell, G. Mordant, and Thos. Peck, of Stowmarket, in extensive business ad wool combers, worsted weavers, and traders were feoffees for the church. Henry North, Thos. Tyrell, *esquire*, Thos. Kebble of Newton, gent., J. Poley of Stowmarket, *esquire*, Wm. Brown of Stowmarket, in business, Rich. Tastard and Wm. Fuller of Comba, Rich. Noble of Creating, *esquire*, Edmd. Ferneley of Creating, *esquire*, Edmd. Poley of Badley, *esquire*, Thos Salter of Battisford, gent. Nica. Bacon of Shrubland hall, *esquire*, Wm. Blomfield of the bottom of Little Stonham, gent., Doctor Edwards Aymer of Cleydon, J. Acton of Bramford, *esquire*, J. Sicklemore of Ipswich, *esquire*, J. Brandlyn of Ipswich, *esquire*, J. Smythier of Ipswich, *merchant*, J. Howes of Akenham, gent., R. Meadow of Henley, and Thos. Fynn, of Whilton shall be feoffees for the highways. *Vicar's Book.*

† M.S. Journal in Harl. Lib. Brit. Mus.

SURVEYORS.

and carriages." And the method of repairing them as a remedy for this "noysome travel" is curious, and characteristic of the times in which the road surveyors first began to have power to exercise their useful functions. The simple method however of each person paying and others doing the work, was a principle long resisted with much jealousy by our English habits of self-government and freedom. Nor was it until each person found his ease in this arrangement for the good of all, that a surveyor's rate and face became tolerably agreeable.

The law and custom was on the Tuesday and Wednesday in Easter week for the Constables and Churchwardens to call together a number of "the parochians," who then elected "two honest persons" as surveyors and "orderers" for one yeare. They were fined twenty shillings if they did not serve. They appointed four days for "the amendyng" of the highways. And every person having a plough-land in pasture, or keeping a draught or plow within each parish through which the road ran, was obliged to send "one waine or carte, furnished after the custom of the countrye with oxe[n], horses, or other catell, and also two hable men with the same."

They were to make eight hours of these days under the surveyors and bring "their own tools." If they did not attend they were fined 12d. per day. This 12d. may be considered then as the partial hire of two men and a cart of two oxen or horses in 1555, so that money was then about six or eight times its present value, as it had been ten times (at least) at the period of the conquest in 1086.*

The bequest therefore of Mrs. Gowle was not unnecessary and is still productive of much comfort to the bones of passengers between Ipswich and Stowe, and to the purses of land owners or occupiers, for the annual rents of the land at Stowmarket are now considerable, and are expended by the turnpike commissioners in rendering the drive between the towns no longer "noysome," but a pleasure.†

* Black-letter folio 20 in Stowmarket chest.

† This Madam Gowle was very minute in her will when disposing of her property, which was considerable and of various kinds. Some of the items are amusing.

I bequeath to Cath. Broadway my drinking horn with

SULIERDE.

THE FORTUNES OF THE HOUSE OF "SULIERDE"
OF HAUGHLEY.

KING Edward the Sixth having died, the Duke of Northumberland endeavoured to bring Lady Jane Grey to the throne, but the nation would not bear this violation of the hereditary principle of succession, as in that case the Lady Mary must have been passed over, and Elizabeth was nearer to the throne. Although it was known that Mary was a bigotted Romanist, and great danger was apprehended by the Protestant party in the church that she would reconcile the kingdom to Rome, yet they thought it right not to violate the fundamental principles of the monarchy. And though deceived by Mary and betrayed, although a burning persecution followed and the reformation of the church was suspended for five years, yet the total overthrow of the Romish party arose out of the disgust excited by their cruelty, and the natural spirit of that Italian church which was thus permitted to exhibit its tyranny and short-sighted policy.

12th July, 1553] The Lady Mary received many gentlemen and knights into her presence at Keninghall castle, Norfolk, amongst whom came Master John Sulierde of *Haughley*, with divers others, in-

the covering for the terme of her life, and after her decease to remain to Robt. Broadway for evermore.

[This would be now a curiosity if we had it—its covering was silver.]

Item—I bequeath to Sir James Dunche a featherbed with the transome.

[This was perhaps her son, as her first husband's name was Dunche. The transome was the bedstead head and other parts, and some of them were carved most elaborately. I have seen some in this town at least 300 years old, which were very costly and handsome, and worth in those days many pounds.]

Item—I bequeath to Isabell Caye my great featherbed in the parlour with the transome.

Item—To Anne Caye a bead gyrdle garnished with sylver.

Item—To Margaret Keeble my god daughter a milke pan of brasse. *Item*—To Rose Hether come and violet gown, a payer of coarse sheets and a mattress. *Item*—To Johanne Page my scarlet curtie. *Item*—To Alm. Hammond my furred gowne. To Mary Browne my god daughter a brasse pott. [Parish Reg. Book No. 99.] These brasse potts were valuable heir looms in those days, and are subjects of bequest in wills of this period. They were used in the dairy and kitchen.

QUEEN MARY.

cluding Tyrell of *Gipping*. The names of those in Suffolk who assisted in preserving the crown and succession to her, some from conscience, with others, as Sulierde, from religious attachment to the Romish creed, were (including the before-named gentlemen) the Earl of Bath, Sir Thomas Wharton, (son to the Lord Wharton,) Sir John Mordaunt, (son to the Lord Mordaunt,) Sir Wm. Drury, Sir J. Shelton, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Master Henry Jerningham, Mr. Ric. Freiston, Mr. Ser. Morgan, Mr. Clement Higham. She afterwards came (14th) to Framlingham castle, where great numbers of gentry and people in Suffolk visited her. In seven days the whole revolution was completed. For on the 12th the Duke of Northumberland made preparations for his march to Bury, where he arrived on the 14th or 15th. On the 18th he retired to Cambridge, and on the 19th Queen Mary was proclaimed at Cheapside in London. Thus Lady Jane had hardly time to lift the glittering cairn of a crown to her head and feel its weight, when she was compelled to replace it on the council table for another.

13,000 men were assembled at Framlingham from all these and the surrounding neighbourhoods. Provisions were so abundant at the castle, that a barrel of beer was sold for 6d. and four great loaves for 1d. For their services on this occasion Mr. *Tyrell* of *Gipping*, and Mr. *Sulierde* of *Haughley* were both knighted.* The tradition in the Hundred is, that she came from Sir J. Sulierde's in *Haughley*, and passed through *Newton* and *Gipping* by the Hundred lane, attended with a vast concourse of people, and so was conducted to Framlingham castle.

Sir John Sulyard was a stiff Roman Catholic, and his loyalty was tainted with the bigotry of his religion. His recusancy under Elizabeth would not have been noticed severely, if he had not made himself so obnoxious by assisting at the death of the Protestants in this reign. He was much trusted by Queen Mary. She gave him an unlimited order to do what was useful for her service, of which the following is a literal copy—†

* *Stowe's An.*

† Their family M.S. *Jermyn Ad. Harl. Lib.*

ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION.

Mary the Queen.

Henry Bedingfield "These are to require and command you to give most faithful and assured orders to this berer our trusty and well-beloved s'vient Sir John Sulyard, and in any wyse as ye love us and tender our favour not to fayle to accomplish and putte into execution that which he shall declare unto you from us to be our pleasure, so fare ye hartylie well. From Framlingham the 23 of Jun."*

When firmly settled in the throne she granted to him the park and manor of *Haughley*, where he built the present fine old mansion. He lived to the 12th year of Elizabeth (1570). His son Edward inherited the religion, but had obtained more enlightened attachment to the throne. He declares himself "bounden and radie as becometh a true and dutiful subject, with boddie, lands, and goods, to defend her Higness (Q. Elizabeth) against the force of any Prince, Pope, Potentate, Prelate," &c. 24 Oct. 1588. This declaration was made in the face of the Spanish Armada by many Roman Catholics, and others armed themselves and fought on board the fleet. But a large body remained secretly and sullenly passive, awaiting with a feverish hope coming events, and praying earnestly for the restoration of Papal power. Many of these gentlemen for two years before this invasion had been compelled by the government to live in London, nor could they visit their estates without license from the privy seal. This was a necessary precaution under the threats of invasion, and when such violent counsels prevailed at Rome. The Romish religion it is well known, claims the supremacy over every tie of country, family, and fortune. Consequently when the determination of that church to regain her lost ground in this kingdom by the sword became known, rebellion in her creed changed its name, and from being a crime was sanctified at her mandate and elevated into the rank of the holiest virtue. English rebels were at Rome holy martyrs. Knowing the power of such claims upon the consciences of Roman Catholic gentlemen, the government were driven into urgent measures of precaution, and exercised over them a severe scrup-

ITS CLAIMS.

tiny. The Church of Rome cared not for their private sufferings, these she cheaply repaid by dignifying them as confessors of Christianity. Her only design was the resumption of power, and this she would purchase at any price. Edward Sulyard was compelled to reside in London, as a sincere and therefore of necessity a suspected Roman Catholic. The Spanish invasion was one of those great errors into which the vehement hatred of Rome against England involved her policy at this period, and from which she never recovered. Like the martyrdoms of Mary it branded her religion with treason, treachery, and cruelty, and was the second fatal mistake of political craft in the court of Rome. Mr. 'Siliarde' petitioned the council (in 1586) for leave to go down to *Wetherden* and attend to his family concerns, and feelingly enlarges on the hardship and loss he should suffer by "bringing his wife, children and familie to London, which he could not bring to passe in any reasonable sorte, but to his greate charge, extreme losse, and hindrance, which in no wise he can long endure, but in short tyme will be his utter overthrowe and undoing." He speaks of "vi fatt oxen" sent up to London to pay a fine of fifty pounds due to the exchequer, five of which were seized on their journey by her majesty's surveyors and no allowance had been made for them. He had paid £1760 already in fines on his estate for his suspected loyalty, and as a part of that uneasy reputation he obtained with his religion from his father. His case we must pity when we reflect on the cruelty of Rome in thus by her foreign emissaries and conspiracies, obliging the government to suspect and punish her members within the kingdom. The crown was however in all these cases as merciful as its own safety would permit. Preservation only and not Persecution was the leading principle of this reign, as persecution and not mere preservation had been the cruel principle of Mary. And in this case of Mr. Sulyard's we may perceive from the following answer to his petition, that lenity and security were the rules by which the measures of the court were actuated.*

* These documents are from family papers of the Suliards and have not been I believe published before.

* Addenda Hart. Lib. 8200, M.S. from family papers.

ELIZABETH'S POLICY.

"Whereas Edward Sylarde of Wetherden in the county of Suffolk, gent. having been long tyme restrayned of his libertie for matter of religion, was lately for certain considerations permitted to remayne near his house in Suffolk, and yet notwithstanding, as it is informed, hath synce that time been troubled and molested onely for recusancy. These are in her majesty's name to will and require you, and every of you to whom it may appertayne, to forbear to sue or trouble him any further, with respect to his said recusancy untill you shall understand her majesty's further pleasure herein, and these shall be his sufficient warrant in that behalf. Dated at my house at Barnelmes the 19 of June 1586."

FRAN. WALSYNGHAM, L. S.

The penalties of her reign were imposed only for treasonable practices or plottings against the state, and not for religious opinions, if these were maintained within the quiet of the family circle. This marks a great difference between the deaths of the Anglo-Catholic churchmen in Mary's days, and the Roman Catholic dissenters in those of Elizabeth. The first were burned, because they could not believe, and would not say the sacrament was *corporeally* the Saviour of the world. The latter died, because they assembled secretly or plotted violently against the Queen's government and person. Sir John had assisted at some of those plague spots of the Romish church, the English martyrdoms, and not improbably at the burnings held on the rising ground near his own new mansion.

J. Sulyarde who succeeded this gentleman was knighted by James the First, and had all penalties and fines remitted. Under Charles the family devoted themselves to the crown. Rome from abroad had lost the power of producing invasions, and thus the sufferings of her members at home were no longer the result of her unfortunate policy. Those extreme principles into which the mind is hurried in flying too hastily from Rome, had induced a large body of the clergy and laity to discard all appeal to that antiquity which is older than Rome, and the dissenting or voluntary principle then overthrew the church and monarchy. Under Cromwell Sir Edward Sulyarde was imprisoned, and two parts of his estate sequestered. He became a wanderer and exile. On the restoration he recovered his former possessions and manors, but still continued a firm adherent to the faith of the middle ages as taught by Rome. A branch of this family settled in Flanders; and the

MARY'S CHARACTER.

last possessor sold the property, whilst the hall, with all its honours passed to the family of Crawford, and are now possessed by the Rev. H. Crawford.*

THE MARTYRS IN SUFFOLK UNDER QUEEN MARY.

1553] Her reign was defiled with political as well as religious blood. The repulsive severity of her natural character is seen in its progress; and her regal life presents to the observer the singularly disagreeable features of a female reign, where the personal feelings of the sovereign are conspicuous in scenes of calculating cruelty and bloodshed, which have but few parallel chapters in the history of the world. In general, state necessity and the law of self-preservation have obliged the possessors of a disputed crown to acts of severity, for which we always find some palliative in their political necessities. But it was not so with Mary. The greatest cruelties, and acts which were totally unnecessary for her own security began after she was perfectly secure. She loved persecution for its own sake. The honour of keeping her royal word as a gentlewoman must also be denied her, as pledging herself to the Suffolk gentry to make no change in religion, she yet attempted a violent alteration with relentless cruelty and unnecessary rapidity. The acts however of the Queen were the deliberate principles and actions of the Romish Church. The sanguinary policy of the Papal communion is conducted and formed on systematic rules, and her claim of infallible uniformity in all ages, obliges persecution to assume the cold yet repulsive form of a duty from which she has not abstained since the seventh century.

Some of the Protestant martyrs were railers against the government, and provoked by their political scurrility the anger of the council. But in this they were exceeded by their enemies, and were too often excited by tortures and imprisonments to sharp and intemperate language, which only weakened their sacred cause and yielded a partial triumph to their adversaries. The county generally and these sur-

* Harl, Lib. Jermyn Addenda 8200, p. 3, 4.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PERSECUTION.

rounding districts did not afford any great and noble victims, nor can the martyr annals of Suffolk present bishops or dignitaries in its catalogue of names; but numbers of honest, poor, and labouring men and women, with some clergy, were here found faithful witnesses for the truth of scripture in death. With the extravagance of some of the religious opinions held by a few, no churchman can agree, and at the ignorance of others upon many points we must only sigh, but few amongst us will withhold their applause from the courageous firmness, with which they braved the fiercest death in fire, and by their blood proclaimed the Romish Church to be the relentless enemy of freedom, of enquiry, and of truth. For truth cannot be examined at the stake or in the prison, nor is the sense of the gospel to be discovered amid the lingering tortures of hunger and thirst. Whilst however we abjure such a method of propagating Christianity, we are not to conclude that there was or that there is no piety, and no love of God in the Roman Catholic Church. Far otherwise is the fact. Her system as taught at Rome, and the deliberate policy of her Popes and court, must be condemned; yet many of her individual members are only separated from the Anglo Catholicism of our own church, by the wood, hay, and stubble, of perishable follies, which will vanish away whilst the great foundation of truth in the Saviour remains unshaken.

I shall present the reader with a list of Suffolk martyrs, many of whom came from this neighbourhood.* Some were burned it is said at *Wetherden*, on the hill going down to *Woolpit*, in place conspicuous for many miles of country around, and very many more were brought to trial under the active superintendence of two high sheriffs in this Hundred. A curious and original letter will also be found from *Bildeston*, confirming the remarks that amongst them were violent politicians, and that the coarse language they used when excited by the coarser language of their enemies who hunted them to death, was sometimes the direct cause of their condemnation, and in many instances furnished the

MARTYRS IN THE COUNTY.

hard-hearted Queen and Romish Church with a political reason for their execution.

I have examined several volumes of original papers belonging to *Foxe* (the martyrologist) in the British Museum, which contain much interesting information, and have extracted from them additional particulars and the names of a few new confessors for the truth in Suffolk. There are also many papers containing recantations, and we find persons occasionally liberated after examination as illiterate and simple-minded. Mr. F. appears to have been frequently at Ipswich, and possessed many friends in this neighbourhood. He recommended a schoolmaster to the corporation of that town on one occasion, and kept up a correspondence there with several *godly* ministers, who were probably Presbyterians, and at heart dissenters from the Episcopal Church of England like himself.*

Hadleigh was one of the first towns in the county which received Protestant doctrine, and from the lips of *Bilney* so many persons were instructed to search the Scriptures, that a large number of the parishioners became fully convinced of the errors and lapse of the Romish Church from the Primitive Faith of the early Christians. Dr. Taylor the rector was amongst these. He was a zealous reformer in king Edward's days; and when Mary commenced her persecutions became one of the distinguished martyrs in maintaining the truth. He was burned on *Aldham common* near *Hadleigh* in 1555, and died with great constancy in the fire. A stone has been erected to his memory in the place which overlooks the valley where *Hadleigh* is built. His story is so well known that I shall not repeat any portion of it.†

Roger Bernard was a single man, a labourer, living in *Framnsden*, he was seized, examined, and refusing to hear mass and worship the wafer, condemned to death.

Adam Foster, was a husbandman and lived in *Mendlesham*. He would not hear mass and was therefore taken prisoner by Sir J. *Tyrrel* of *Gipping*, knt. and having been brought to the hall the same

* Some of their names have not been published I believe before.

* *Bib. Harl.* v. 1, 416, &c.

† *Foxe*—*Mary*, 1555.

MARTYRS.

night that he was taken and examined, he was forthwith committed to the dungeon at Eye.

Robert Lawson, a linen weaver of *Stow*, (supposed) was apprehended by the direction of the same Sir John, and sent to Eye prison after being examined at the hall. These three simple-minded yet faithful martyrs were burned at Bury in the same fire, and died in great steadfastness and with courage.

John Fortune, a blacksmith at *Hintlesham*, was a man of plain vigorous understanding, good knowledge in the Scripture, undaunted courage, and ready mother wit. He penned his own examinations and was imprisoned for a long time. He either died in prison or was made away with privately, for after the term of persecution ceased he was not anywhere to be found. In the examinations of these and many poor martyrs, their rough, vulgar language, and the coarse sharpness of their answers, must not be too heavily condemned. They were illiterate men, whose feelings had been grievously wounded by the tyranny of the bad laws under which the magistrates and officers then proceeded. There is in some of them a very different spirit in outward behaviour to that of those in scripture, whom they desired to follow. But putting aside their coarse language, their simple courageous faith in laying down their lives for the truth of those doctrines which we now possess is remarkable, and was victoriously successful in confirming the Reformation. The vulgar violence of the persecutors in too many cases provoked in a rude age a similar spirit.*

1556] Dr. Argentine, a physician in *Ipswich*, with others, were very active in persecuting and finding out the Protestants and in upholding Popery. Of these one Buller, an apothecary, a curious singing man and a great player on the organ, was a close friend. By their efforts Agnes Wardall, whose husband was a sailor on board a crayer, was much disturbed and hunted from one place to another, but she in different adventures escaped their hands.

At the time of the visitation of the Chancellor Dunning, at Ipswich in 1556, numbers of Protestants

IPSWICHE—MENDLESHAM—GIPPING.

were brought into that town for examination. Of these some came from *Lavenham*, some from *Bxford*, some from *Stowmarket*, and other places where cloth was woven, then called the cloth country. It is probable that their numbers somewhat disheartened the officers and induced them to dismiss them for that time. The visitation lasted but one day, and we hear of but few of the country prisoners having been examined.

1557] J. Noyes of *Laxfield*, was brought before Sir J. Tyrrel of *Gipping* and Sir J. Sulliarde of *Wetherden*, high sheriff, Master Thurston and Master Kene, justices in *Hoxne*, and examined. He was sent to Eye dungeon and thence carried to Norwich. He was burned at Laxfield on the 21st. But when they entered the village and sought for a brand, all the inhabitants extinguished their fires, and they had some difficulty to obtain it. The articles for which these martyrs suffered were principally that they denied the Pope to be head of the church, and asserted that Christ's natural body as a man was not in the sacrament, but that he was only there present spiritually. Most of them held the *real* but not the *corporeal* presence. Some of them held erroneous opinions besides, and were baptists, and some were in doctrine and opinion on many points perfect puritans. But the great majority died in defence of the doctrines and articles of our Protestant Established Church.

W. Seaman, a husbandman living at *Mendlesham*, became known unto Sir J. Tyrrel of *Gipping*, as a man determined to abstain from Popish ceremonies and the mass. He sought for him several times himself, but in various ways he escaped, until one night Sir John's officers R. Baulding and J. Clarke seized him in his own house, and carried him immediately before the knight at *Gipping hall*. Sir John enquired why he could not worship the sacrament? He answered it was an idol if so treated. He was burned in the Lollard's pit at Norwich. His mother was sought for by Sir John and compelled to hide all day in the fields. She died of cold and want, and was buried by a moat's side and not in consecrated ground. Mother Benet, a widow, living at

* *Harl. Lib.* 416, and *Foxe—Mary.*

WOODBRIDGE, ETC.

Wetheringset, was treated in a similar manner, and died and was buried in the same way. A saying of her's is preserved which is useful at all seasons. "I cannot firkin up my butter and keep my cheese in my chamber and wait a great price and let the poor want, and so displease God. Let us be rich in good works and so shall we please the Lord, and have all good things given unto us."

1558] Richard Yeoman of *Hadleigh*, the curate of Dr. Taylor, was apprehended, sent to Bury, thence to Norwich and burned, being cruelly tormented in the fire.

Four men, J. Corke, R. Miles, A. Lane, and J. Ashley, were burned at *Bury* by Sir E. Walgrave. And a man named Gouch of *Woodbridge*, with one Driver's wife of *Grundisburg*, were imprisoned at Ipswich. The last words of this woman before the Chancellor, may serve as a specimen of these simple martyrs without any railing expressions. "I was an honest poor man's daughter, never brought up in the university as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time, I thank God, yet notwithstanding in the defence of God's truth and in the cause of my master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all in the maintenance and defence of the same, and if I had a thousand lives they should go for payment thereof."

John Tudson, a native of *Ipswich*, was burned at London, 1556.

John Alcocke, a woad setter, read the prayers in English from the prayer-book every week to the people in *Hadleigh* after Dr. Taylor's martyrdom. This was not however in the church but in some other place. He was at length seized and died in prison in Newgate, London.

1555] A. Shearman was burned at *Yoxford*.

Thos. Cob of *Haverhill*, butcher, was burned at Thetford.

William Allen, labouring man of *Walsingham*, was burned in that parish.

Roger Coo was burned at *Yoxford*, an aged man and full of faith.

MARTYRS CONTINUED.

On the 21st May, 1556, three men were burned at *Beccles*, named Thos. Spicer of *Winston*, J. Denny and E. Poole. Sir J. Tyrell of Gipping hall, knt. had commanded the first to hear mass, but he having refused, he was by order of the knt. taken and sent to Eye dungeon, and then brought before the Chancellor Dunning at Beccles and condemned. The sentence was reluctantly given with many tears and entreaties to obey the laws. Sir John Sulliard of Haughley park was then high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. The writ for burning them had not arrived, but the high sheriff was so eager for their death, that he burned them without waiting for this authority from London.

By the procurement of Sir J. Tirrel, knt. and others of his colleagues there were persecuted out of the town of *Winston* in Suffolk these persons. Mrs. Alice Twaites, gentlewoman of three score years and more with two of her servants. H. Smith and his wife. Wm. Catchpole and his wife. J. Mauling and his wife. Wm. Buckingham and his wife, and one Bright and his wife.

These also were persecuted and driven out of *Mendlesham*. Simon Harston, his wife, and five children. W. Whitting and wife. T. Dobson and wife. T. Hubbard and wife. J. Doncon, wife, and maid. W. Doncon. T. Woodward the elder. One Kennold's wife. A poor widow. Mother Semon's maid. The articles they believed and for which they were persecuted were those of our church. Many of them were possessed of good substance; some were imprisoned; others begged and compelled to be vagabonds; and others burned.*

In the same year three more. Thos. Parret, Martin Hunt, and J. Norice were condemned and burnt at *Bury St. Edmund's*.

1555] James Abbes, a native of *Stoke* by Nayland, was burned at *Bury*, Aug. 2. He had wandered through the county holding meetings, and when examined at first recanted, and being poor accepted money. But on going out of the court his conscience reproved him, and returning he threw down the

* *Foxe* and others.

THEIR SUFFERINGS.

money and died faithfully at the stake in defence of the reformed faith of the Church of England.*

A Mr. Samuel (Presbyter)† was rector of *Berg-holt*, and had been a licensed preacher under king Edward, and still continued although it was now enacted to be sedition to preach the reformed doctrines of our church. He was at length ejected from his living because he would not leave his wife. He continued to live with her in lawful wedlock at Ipswich, and visited secretly the houses of those who in this and other neighbouring places retained their religious opinions in private. Such conduct was in direct opposition to the then law and involved imprisonment and death. Foster, a justice of peace and lawyer, who lived on the London road going out of Ipswich, and who had been the great agent in bringing Dr. Taylor of Hadleigh to the stake, having intelligence of Mr. Samuel's proceedings, way-laid his house, seized and sent him to Dunning's the Chancellor of the diocese. He was kept chained upright to a post, and every day his allowance consisted of three mouthfuls of bread and three spoonfuls of water. (His extremity was such that *quoties suam ipse urinam exoptabat bibere*. Yet this failed him at last from the miserable starvation he underwent.) He was burned at *Ipswich* 31st Aug. 1555.

Nottingham, a maid servant, seeing him go to execution embraced and comforted him. She escaped the hands of the persecutors. But Ann Potter and Joan Trunchfield both married women living at *Ipswich* who assisted him, were apprehended and burnt on Feb. 19, 1556. The miseries they suffered in prison were great and at first their courage failed. But after a time they were strengthened, and died with patient constancy at the stake in the same fire.‡

Many persons from *Lavenham*, *Stradishall*, and *Bury*, were examined and condemned as "pertinaci-

THEIR BELIEF.

ous and obstinate heretics" in 1558.* Rich. Carman of *Reydon*, and Thos. Culyer of *Moulton* recanted. Edmund Pole of *Needham*, John Dennye of *Soham*, Margt. Chester of *Thwaite*, two men from *Bedfield*, John Cooke of *Stoke by Nayland*, sawyer, Alex. Hane of the same place, with Jacob Ashbee and Rob. Myles, were examined at Bury and affirmed † that there was no bodily presence in the sacrament. They marked with a cross ‡ in the original paper the words, *et quod sacramentum altaris est idolum*, which shows at least their courage to face the flames, although it proves that they did not distinguish between what is spiritual and real, and what is affirmed erroneously by the Romish church to be the very natural body of Christ.

All persons however who were brought before the commissioners were not condemned or even strictly examined. Political mercy insensibly mingled in these savage proceedings. Several persons were liberated upon submission without recantation, and in making a statement of their having been misled by simplicity and want of learning to argue upon these abstruse points.† The Romish church had committed irreparable injury against herself by 300 deliberate executions, and 3000 imprisonments, deaths, and miseries, in all parts of England and Wales. She might therefore be fairly allowed to assert her mercy as well as her terrors, in the very numerous facts, that numbers of persons were liberated without any serious examination.|| Not to have acted thus would have been most impolitic amid this wretched impolicy. And if the commissioners acting under the Queen had imprisoned all who were presented, they would have been compelled to turn the whole country into one vast prison, for as the persecution increased, the numbers of voluntary confessors multiplied, and the spirit of martyrdom would have very soon reached the court itself.

* *Foxe* 1555, and papers *Harl. Lib.*

† *Harl. Lib.* 416.

‡ The exposition of the presence of Christ in the sacrament by Mr. Samuel is quite as far removed from the Romish doctrine of the bodily transubstantiation, as it is from the dissenting emptiness of a mere memorial. He held what the Church of England holds a real but spiritual presence and died in defence of it. *Foxe*—*Mary*, 1555.

* *Harl. Lib.* 421.

† *Non est reale naturale et verum corpus Christi—et quod substantia panis et vini non convertit in veram substantiam corporis et sanguinis Christi.* *Ibid.*

‡ *Harl. Lib.* 171.

|| *Foxe* ought to have stated this fully.

LAST OF MARTYRS.

1556] Edmd. Foster and Rob. Sampson of *Mendlesham* were both condemned. Thos. Spurdmore of *Crowfield*, and Eliz. Sampson of *Bedfled** were also condemned. Ann Bolton of *Ipswiche* affirmed the mass to be idolatry and was condemned to be burnt. John and Mich. Trunchfielde of St. Leonard *Ipswiche*, Roger Comes of *Long Melford*, Wm. Allen of *Somerton*, labourer, could not believe Christ's natural body as a man to be in the sacrament, and were all condemned to be burnt. Some were examined, as Bath. Akers of *Stake by Nayland*, but not condemned. And others read a recantation in a prescribed form in their parish church on Sunday, and were freed from prison. There was no mystification of terms in these papers, but the Romish doctrine was undisguisedly stated, for it is said, "after the words of consecration spoken by the minister there is the natural and real body, and no substance of bread and wine remains." Such a confession was made by J. Husband of *Moneuden*,† and Wm. Whity of *Mendlesham*.‡

1558] The last of the martyrs burnt in Suffolk was at *Bury*, in the sheriffship of Sir Clement Higham, a fortnight before Queen Mary's death. Their names were P. Humfrey, J. David, and H. David his brother. If Mary had not died, 77 persons of *Ipswich* and the neighbourhood would have been indicted and cast into prison. Their names had been sent up to the council which sat then at Beccles.||

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, one of the greatest and most crafty enemies of our Reformation from Popery, was a native of Bury. His family resided there and from thence he went and studied at Cambridge. To him principally and Cardinal Pole, the three bishops who were burnt at Oxford, were indebted for their crowns of martyrdom.

The following curious letter will caution the reader to remember that some men died in those days as political culprits, and these must not be confounded

CURIOUS LETTER.

with that glorious army of confessors and martyrs whose blood watered the seeds of Reformation in the Anglo-Catholic church.

To his assured friend Mr. Walker preacher of Godde's
word these leave at the widow Bocking in
Ippish hast haste.

My humble dutye and remembrance this daye accordinge
to my pmise I have talked with those wh as I juge can
best certyfye the truth of the matter wh is reported of wh
accordyngē as I have (heard) thy. I would it had never
been wrytten ther, for yf every man must be judged a martir
wh then was punished for rebellious wroght we shall have
many martyrs. Of all men therefore Wm. Punt was
much to blame for I told hym more than two yeares past
that his paper wh contayned that report was untrewe wh
nw (as it was then written) is put in prynt, in wh reporte
are comitted sundye fawfts following—fyrst that *Cooper*
was no such man that ought in commendacōtō to be named
in that book. 2dly, whereas *Whyte* is named to be a false
witness he wytnessed truly. 3dly, *Grymwood* is . . . re-
ported to be a wytness . . . now to be a false witness.
4. that wh is syde by the just judgment of God to come
upon the said *Grymwood* is as trwe as the rest. Last of
all *Cooper* he is valued more than he was worth, for what
were hi goodes? Item, 10 milch kine at 30s.—13l. It. 7
bullocks at 18s.—6l. 6s. It. 6 calves at 5s.—xxxv. It. 6
horses together 7l. It. in howseholde stiffe 11l. It.
a new carte 11l. It. 19 acres of wheat at xx.s.—19l. It.
18 acres of ground . . . to sowe wh barley thence worthe
at the harvest next 4l. 10s. It. like of bullimong land,*
worth 38s. 4d. It. in corne and hay in the barne yt is not
known how much. So the sum of that wh is wrytten and
priced afsorwyd with 12 portlings at 28d. the pece—28s.
6l. 7s. This was furnished me by the late wylfe of the
sayd *Cooper* of whom I asked wht she thought in consyne-
nce of her sayd late husband's . . . religion, to wh she
answered that she counted no man was able to say that he
hardened anye of the St. wh was psekuted and in all
that tyme therre nevr resorted to his house more than 11,
. . . of wh the one was a turncote priest's wylfe—and
furthermore, I . . . named the wedow Rayner who in-
deed to her power harboured and ministered to the afflic-
ed dwalling within 2 arrowes shottes of the sayde wylfe—
the aforesayd sayth as she dyd (looge) in the town, good
joye of amendment therre was but little in hym, for in his
mad rage he could not rule himself. Algr he was a great
blasphemer. I understand that my frend Punt hath wylled
the late wylfe of the sayd *Cooper* to come to Gippeswich.
I pray you move him to be sylent in this case or (warne)
Mr. *Foxe* not to give evidence to his wrytting or reports in
this behalfe, and tell him that I requyred you to do so.
Last day of Aprill, 1563, y poore frriende,

WILL. RUSHBROOK.†

There is a letter‡ from "Punt to Foxe,"§ saying
(dated 20th Aprill) that the story of Cooper's mar-
tyrdom was true as he heard it, but he only had it

* Bedingfield.

† *Hart Lib.* 421, p. 173.

‡ In page 209 there are eight pages containing Rob. Wade's layth, a confessor but not a martyr, which are not contemptible. *Ibid* as above.

|| *Foxe's List*, 1558.

• This was a mixture of peas, vetches, and oats.

† *Hart Lib.* 416, 174.

‡ At page 122, *ibid*.

§ Directed "to my loving and very good friend Mr. *Foxe*, in the Duke of Norfolke's house lying by Algate."

THEIR NUMBERS.

from others. This is dated before this letter of Mr. Rushbrooke's and therefore does not refute it. Cooper appears to have been a native of *Bildeston*, and Rushbrooke was a Protestant anxious that the cause should not suffer by the insertion into the martyrology of improper persons. Mr. Keble, Mr. Walker, and Mr. Sutton preachers of the gospel in *Ipswiche* (in other words clergymen of the church) became interested in the account. Cooper's wife and children were to make a certificate of its truth. But the result appears to have been that in consequence of this letter the name and story were withdrawn from the later editions of *Foxe*, and are only to be found in the first.*

The extent and general nature of the persecution may be recognized by the simple fact, that in the first year of Elizabeth, articles of enquiry were addressed under the Archbishop to each diocese and every parish in the kingdom, of which this is a copy : "Item—How many persons for religion have died by fire, famine, or otherwise, or have been imprisoned for the same?"† The deaths by fire we have ascertained, but it is impossible now to estimate the exact number of deaths which must have arisen from imprisonment, anxiety of mind, starvation, and illness induced by torture. If the committed persons are generally tenfold more than the convicted, then the number of confessors and martyrs during this reign in the different counties cannot be less than 3000 persons, of whom 277 died in the fire, and of the rest hundreds perished in prison or by disease caught in those wretched places of confinement. The sufferings of relatives, of parents and children, of wives and friends, during three years and a half, may be pictured by the imagination but cannot be exceeded when compared with the reality. The loss of property was not very great,

* M.S. note upon the letters, in Harl. Lib.
† *Archæologia*, 8. 70,

CRUELTY OF ROMISH CHURCH.

for the most learned martyrs were not rich, and of the others many were very poor.*

*	5 bishops were burnt to ashes, and also
	21 divines
	8 gentlemen
	84 artificers
	100 husbandmen, servants, and labourers
	26 wives
	20 widows
	9 virgins
	2 boys
	2 infants, but one of these was whipped to death by Bonner
	277

Weaver's Fun. Mon.

In Suffolk 36 martyrs (see preceding list) were burned to ashes.

Such is one of the glorious trophies of our church, and in 1650 we shall have another list of sufferers amongst the clergy, from the hands of Puritans and rebels. The first martyr was burnt in Feb. 1555, the last in autumn of 1558 making (the prophetic period of) three years and a half.—*Rev. xi. 11.*

PRICES, &c.

1500] 30,000 people died of the plague in London. *Stowe.*
1519 and 24]

Turkeys, carps, hops, pickerels, and beere,
Came into England all in one yeare.

This was a rhyme then made to signalize their introduction. The beere was a kind of porter. Tobacco came in 1578—pins in 1578—needles first made by a negro in 1557 in Cheapside, but he would not teach his art—silk buttons then were introduced—writing paper and brown paper first made in 1590 in England. [*Stowe.*] The pickarel is a small pike. One of the most ancient taverns on the Stowupland side of the river in the town has its origin at this period. [*Church papers in anno 1565.*] It was used as the house of reckoning for Stowupland on the annual feast day, and has borne the venerable sign of the Pickarel or small pike, of which the river presents still good sport.

1533] It was enacted that butchers should sell by weight—beef $\frac{1}{4}$ per lb.—mutton $\frac{3}{4}$ per lb.—fat oxen were sold £1 : 6 : 8 each—fat weathers 3s. 4d. each—a fat lamb 11d.—fat calves 3s. 4d.—for the relief of the poor the butchers sold penny pieces of beef each weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.—mutton 8d. the quarter—a hundred weight of beef 4s. 8d. “What price it hath grown to since it needeth not be set downe.” [*Stowe's Ann.* His last remark referre to 1600, when it had trebled—what is to be said now?]

1595] Corne 14s. per quarter—corn was imported, yet the price did not fall much, “the same was growne to an excessive price.” [*Stowe.*] “An hen's ege was sold for a penny or 3 eggs for two pence at the most—a pound of sweet butter for 7d.—and so the like of fish or flesh, exceeding measure in price, such was our sins deserving it.”

1597] A dearte of corn—wheat 10s. a bushel—rye 6s. oatmeal 8s.

CHAPTER XXI.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1545 TO 1600.

CONFORMITY OF THE VICARS.

1545] The Rev. John Thorpe was presented by the assigns of the abbot of St. Osythe to the vicarage of St. Mary, and conformed to the further reformation introduced by Edward the Sixth on his accession in 1547, and used the Prayer-book. During the reign of Mary he was undisturbed, and in the reign of Elizabeth in 1558 when the Reformation was again renewed, he continued to conform and retained the living until 1589, when Mr. Peagrim was presented by the crown in consequence of a lapse on the part of the patron. We are not to feel surprised at Mr. Thorpe's so readily becoming a Protestant, when we remember that out of nine thousand clergymen who were nominally Roman Catholics in the reign of Mary in 1558, only 189 Parsons, Prebendaries, Bishops, and other dignitaries, refused to assent to Elizabeth's measures for bringing the Church of England into conformity with the faith and practice of the apostolic church of the first three centuries.*

1548] Mr. Thorpe was presented by Sir Thomas Darcy to the vicarage of St. Peter to hold it in union with St. Mary. But in 1564 the Rev. Henry Grimshawe was presented to St. Peter's vicarage on the resignation of Mr. Thorpe. In 1556 Mr. G. either resigned or died, and Mr. Younger was presented. He conformed on the accession of Elizabeth, and in 1576 the Rev. T. Byram became St. Peter's vicar. But in 1589 this living was united with St. Mary in vicar Peagrim's hand, and has remained so to the present time.†

1558] Sir Nic. Bacon was nominated as one of the Protestant members of Queen Elizabeth's council on her accession to the throne. He had been employed

SIR NIC. BACON.

however by Queen Mary, but whether he had conformed to Popery or had been trusted as a man who concealed his religious opinions during her bloody reign of terror, seems not to be exactly known. He became an active Councillor under Elizabeth, and one may therefore conclude that the Reformed Creed was the faith of his heart and affections.* He was lord keeper in her first parliament, and made a speech to the houses which cautiously unfolded the principles of her government in church and state. The great moving principle in her mind, as it ought to be in all governments, he states to be "the honour of God Almighty—*Religion*, as the sure basis for the support of the commonwealth." He presided at the conference of the Reformed Clergy and the Romish party, in which the latter declined the contest after one day's debate, and we may therefore suppose him to have been a man of known moderation and steady principles, or he would not have been appointed to this critical presidency. He lived at *Drinkston* and the family took a leading interest in the affairs of the town. He died in 1597, "a very fat man, but singularly wise and a chief prop of the Queen's Privy Council."†

1564] Long covered waggons began first to travel from Ipswich, Stowmarket, Suffolk and Norfolk to London, "with passengers and commodities." About the same time Queen Elizabeth set up the first carriage herself, and the fashion spread so fast that in twenty years coach-makers began to be a distinct body and trade.‡ The name of the first coachman in England was Will. Boonen, a Dutchman, who drove the Queen—and his wife was the first clear-

* *Baker's Chron.*
† *Norwich Registers, and Stowmarket church papers.*
Hyram Norwich—Byram in Stow M.S.

* Collier b. 2.

† *Baker's Chron. —M.S. Ch. chest.*

‡ *Stowe.*

REFORMATION.

starcher ever known in England. For strange as it may seem, all the ruffles worn by the kings and queens had been sent over from Holland ready starched and made up.* The first person who instructed in the art was a Mistress Dinghan a Dutch-woman.

1566] Much violence had been committed in this church during the years which followed the ejection of the abbot and his monks. The bells, clock and chimes, the pavement, and many parts of the sacred fabric were dilapidated. The old tunes on the "chyme barral" were either unintelligible, from not having been played for many years, or were deemed unsuitable to these times. "A new barrale" and "new tunes" were therefore provided to suit a Protestant people and church. The alteration marks the change in the nation. These old Romish tunes were discordant to their ears, and the new melodies became again old and discordant in Puritan days; whilst these once more were changed on Charles the Second's restoration, and the chymes were then again set to new tunes. Such alterations correspond with the changes in men's opinions and principles, and mark the revolutions which have occurred. "A boke for the degrees of marage" was also purchased and suspended in the church; and "the artikles" of our church recently agreed to in convocation were purchased.† The parishioners now began to meet under the new order of things, Elizabeth having ascended the throne in 1558, and they entered into several resolutions for the regulation of their future proceedings. "The Dyner at Reckning-daye (important matter!) shall be allowed in the accounts. It ys agreed that at all tymes h'rafter the C. W's. shall yelde up there accompt and all other recknyng shall be made yerly on new yere's even at the towne howse and the tenent thereof to provide for xxii men their dyners even on the same daye and to be allowed by the Ch. Wardens yerly for the same vrs. viiiid. T. Garrard and Myles Cottingham Ch. Wardens." And in 1575 Gyles Keble and H. Walker Ch. Wardens, "It is ordered by the whole consent of the in-

THE POOR—POPULATION.

habitants aforesaid that att all tymes hereafter that if any of the said inhabitants shall require of the Ch. Wardens for the tyme beinge to borrowe 20s. to serve their necessitayt, that then they shall have the same putting in a sufficient name or suretie for the same —the Ch. Warden to repaye the same agayne before the day of the next accompt." They thus assisted industrious men to get forward by advancing a small sum to them on loan. And under proper restrictions it was a valuable part of that parochial self-government which our old Saxon constitution encouraged and fostered.

During these early years of the new poor law, from 1560 to 1600, the management of the poor was most carefully yet charitably sustained. The "owld bodies" were helped with wood "in lodes and faggettey." In sickness, money, drink, and physic were provided them. In their journeys they were carried from one parish to another. Clothes were served out, wheels for spinning, and cards for combing wool were paid for by the parishes. When they died and could not bury their dead the fees and burial were undertaken by the parish. A careful kind and cheerful charity pervades all these ancient papers.* Their support had now devolved upon the parishes, whereas up to this period they were cared for by the church and the great proprietors. The church having been robbed of the great proportion of all her landed property, she could no longer assist the poor as before.

The inhabitants of the Uplande in 1597 amounted in heads of families to 58, which with five to a family will give 290 people. In Stowmarket, from its having been the residence of a large body of monastic clergy who supported great numbers of poor persons and collected round them a large population, the numbers on comparing the different papers amounted to 2300. The united population then being about 2600 people.† The town was larger in proportion to Ipswich and Bury than it is now. Ipswich then possessed (perhaps) eight or ten thousand people; it is now more than twenty thousand; whilst these parishes number four thousand.

* Stowe p. 867. † C. W's. accounts Stowmarket chest.

* See chap. on the management of the poor in Stow before the Poor Law.

† Accounts Ch. Chest, 10.

SIR THOS. GRESHAM—CREETING.

1567] Sir Thomas Gresham was a distinguished character in this reign, the prince of merchants, and a man of those great and liberal ideas, which when securely built upon principles of loyalty to the crown and religious devotion to the church, ennable families and hand the names of individuals down to an admiring posterity. He negotiated loans for the Queen, and was engaged in several transactions with her government. But he is best known by his munificent gift of the Royal Exchange to his country, which remained for nearly three centuries his monument in the heart of the nation. Although destroyed by fire, another and yet more noble building stands upon the same foundations, and carries down to a yet more distant posterity Sir Thomas Gresham's name. This great merchant in 1544 married Anne, eldest daughter of Wm. Fferneley, esq. and widow of Wm. Rede of Beccles citizen and mercer of London. The Fferneley family then resided at *Creeting St. Peter's*, where the family lie buried for several generations. The knight had some landed property at *Battisford* in an adjoining parish, and also at *Ringshall* where he had a house. And in the former parish the timber required for the roof of the Royal Exchange was cut down, prepared, and framed before it was carried up to London. The remembrance of this singular occurrence is fresh in the parishes of Creeting and Battisford. The framing of the roof was made on a wide common (as until lately it remained) now called Battisford Tie, where the rafters were united together and then carried by water to London. A letter referring to this subject and dated August 1566, will not be uninteresting. It is directed to Sir Wm. Cecil, to whom he had written in April requesting him to procure an order from the Queen "to go into Norfolk for twenty days for to loke to my things there, and to take order for my free stone for my Burse."

Right Honourable Sir,

After my most humble commendacions it maire like your honour to understand that as the xiiith of this present I mette with my Lorde Keeper, (Sir Nicholas Bacon of Bedgrave hall,) at Sir Clement Hetham's house, (Sir Clement Heigham of Barrow hall) whereas his Lordshipe sealed the Queene's Majestie's bonds, and so departid towards his house at Sainte Tauburne's (St. Albans.) And being with-

CURIOUS LETTER.

in xxx miles of my house at Rinxall (whereas I make all my provision for my timber for the Burse) I was so boide as to starte to veue the same: when I did receave lettres from my servant Richard Clouge of the xiith of this presente; which accordinge to me most bounde dewtie I have thought it good to send to your honour that you may know what occurrances passethe. And so to morrow I intend to depart for London, whereas I trust to find in a rediness the tyme, which I promised to furnish the Queen's Majestie bie exchange, and so to make my repaire into Flanders with all the expedition that I canne for the accomplishment of her Highness instructions. And thus, with my most humble commendacions to the Erle of Leicester and the Erle of Wormonde (Ormond,) with a carouse I most humbly take my leve of you. From my house at Rinxall in Suffolk the thirteenth daie of August anno 1566, at your honour's commandement,

THOMAS GRESHAM.

From Mr. Burges's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham.

The first stone of the Royal Exchange was laid by Sir Thomas on the 7th June, 1566, and it was finished in November, 1567. It was called the Burse until Jan. 1568, when the Queen came and by sound of trumpet named it the Royal Exchange. And in 1569 "Lombard street was quite forsaken."* It was the first great bazaar known in this country and continued such for many years. The whole of the upper story was laid out in shops, but at first it did not take, and stood almost empty for two or three years. Sir Thomas however having obtained her Majesty's patronage, he offered the shops rent free for the first year to any persons who would occupy them, on the easy condition of filling them with goods and burning wax lights at the Queen's visit. The second year the same shops were let at 40*s.* each. But the concourse of buyers once attracted there by the court continued to increase, and in a short time every shop paid 4*l.* 10*s.* per annum. Milliners, haberdashers, (who sold mouse traps, bird cages, shooing horns, lanthornes, and Jewe's trumpets,) amourers, (new and old amor,) apothecaries, booksellers, goldsmiths, glassesellers, &c. were to be found there. Every haberdasher then sold bucklers, for the amusement of sword and buckler fighting was common everywhere.†

Sir T. Gresham died at his house Bishop's-gate st. London, on 21st Nov. 1579. On the day of his burial 100 men and 100 women had black gowns given them by his will at 6*s.* 8*d.* the yard. Sir Thos.

* Stowe.

† *Ibid.* 869.

ROYAL EXCHANGE.

Gresham was connected by marriage with the Bacons, whose names and signatures appear several times in the Stow papers associated with various passing events. They married into the Ffernely family. Sir Nic. Bacon, lord keeper, married Jane youngest daughter of Mr. Ffernely.* The residence of such men in the country is too rapidly passing away. Yet no situation is so calculated to benefit his country nor awaken more personal attachment from all classes, as the hospitable residence of the squire in his parish surrounded by his tenantry and friends. His mere existence here is a public benefit. His influence, given to the church of antiquity, assists in propagating sound religious principles and in suppressing the schismatical errors of dissent. He lives an honoured and distinguished man and is not lost in the uniform of a crowded city. He becomes a portion of the history of his country; and upon his grave are breathed the many sighs and brief prayers of those who stand where he stood, and wish to be as honoured and respected and do the good he had done. The ancient halls in our parishes are not yet all removed, but many of them have disappeared, and the green ridges which cover their former sites mark deep changes in society and feeling, which if once more, by the influence of rail roads changed and directed to the country, will be largely beneficial to the nation.†

1570] The expenses attending the administration of the holy sacrament were collected by rate in Stow-upland. There were 48 rate payers of a penny each, two of 4*d.* and two of 2*d.*—the sum wanted was 1*l.*s. and 10*d.* for the elements. In the year 1590, 27 quarts of wine were thus used. And on the first Sundaye after "assize day" 5 quartes at 2*d.* per quart.

* Parish Registers.

† "The ancient family of Bacon resided in the parish of Drinkston. Robert Bacon of Drinkston by Isabella of Pakenham his wife, had Nicholas Bacon, kn. lord keeper to Q. Elizabeth. The said lord keeper Bacon by his first wife Jane daughter of William Ferneley, esq. had sir Nich. Bacon the first baronet of England, and by his second wife Ann daughter of Sir William Cooke had Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam Lord Chancellor. From this first Lord Verulam is descended the Shrubland family of Bacons."—Communicated by Rev. W. Kirby, Rector of Barham, from M.S. of his Grandfather.

CURIOUS CUSTOMS—TYRELL.

"On assize Monday" a quart. For as at this, so in an after period the assizes were sometimes held here.* We may conclude therefore that this mode of rating was generally the practice in agricultural parishes, as there is no trace of any such custom in the town.

1573] Sir John Tyrell, kt.† was buried in the family chapel in the parish church amongst the bones of his ancestors, who since the year 1400 have been laid in the north aisle. His tomb was covered with an effigy in brass, but the Popish-hating Puritans destroyed it in 1645, and found doubtless much pleasure in thus barbarously maintaining their testimony against Rome by violating the sanctity of a dead man's tomb who had been a sincere believer in the persecuting creed of that church of error.‡ He was not unpopular in the town, for the stone laid over his grave and its brasses were paid for by both parishes, and the parishioners in this manner gave a public testimony of their respectful regard for his memory.||

1575] From the first year of Henry the Second unto the 17th of Eliz. Norfolk and Suffolk had but one high sheriff for both counties. The names of these gentlemen may be found in each year in the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 2122. Sheriffs were now appointed separately to each county. This change arose from the growing importance of the House of Commons as a *distinct member* of the constitution, and the increase of its powers. The high sheriff having by virtue of his office much control in the elections, made this honour of more value, and it became an object of greater ambition to the gentry in the country, who were therefore desirous in each county to possess such an important office for themselves, their own elections, and county meetings. The first of these Suffolk high sheriffs was Robert Ashefelde, esq. of Netherhall, in *Old Newton*, where he resided.§

1576] The Reformation had left many rights un-

* C. W's. accounts. A.D. 1634.

† See chap. 20.

‡ Parish Registers.

|| Accounts of 1574, J. Keble and W. Keble Ch. Wards. Upland.

§ *Ibid.*—*Brit. Mus.* 124, p.

HARLSTON.—MUSKETT.

settled between the parishioners and clergy. And this was especially the case in places that had belonged like this to a large monastery. Thus in the previous year the wardens had felled a tree in the church-yard. But as all timber growing there belongs to the Incumbent, they were obliged in this year "upon the demande of the vicar for the tree which did grow in the church-yarde to pay xviiid."*

1576] In former times no one could assume a coat of arms or dub himself as esquire or gentleman without the special authority of the Heralds who acted as the officers of the crown, from which fountain of honour, all other inferior ranks and honours by the ancient constitution are derived. This wholesome practice has been sadly changed in later years. In cases where families became elevated by wealth or military exploits, and entitled themselves to receive a coat of arms, the grant was made after due investigation of their claims, or was conferred at once by the crown. As a curiosity, I give one of these grants (in manuscript) from the Herald at Arms for East Anglia to a gentleman in this Hundred.

"To all and singular as well nobles and gentles as others to whom these peentes shall come. Rob. Cooke, esq; als Clarenceux, principal heraulte kinge of armes of the South Est and West partes of this realme of England from the river of Trent Southwards, sendithe greetingis in owe Lord God everlasting. And whereas auctently from the beginning the valiant and virtuous actes of worthy persons have been comended unto the world with sundry monuments and remembrances of their good deserte amongst the wh the chefest and most usual hath byn the bearing of signes in shields cauled armes wh are not other than demonstrations of prowis and valoire diversely distributed accordinge to the qualities and deserthes of the persons that such signes and tokens of the diligent, faithful, and courageous might appeare before the negligent, coarse, and ignorant, and be a sufficient cause to move, stirr, and enkindle the soules of men to immitation of virtuous noblesse. And yet is continually observed to the intent that such as have done commendable service to their prince or country either in war or peace may therefore both receive due honour in their lives and also derive the same successively to their posterity after them. And being required of Henry Muskett of Hulston in the county of Suffolk, gent, to make serche in the registers and recordes of my office for such armes and crest as he may lawfully have; whereupon at his request I have made search accordingly, and do find that he may lawfully have the armes and crests hereafter followinge—that is to say, siller, two bars, between six leopardes heads gules. And to his crest or cognizance upon the heelume on a wreath siller and gules out of a crown with a chaine

* C. W's. accts.

CURIOUS CHANGES.

sabots, a demy Antelopp, gould-mouthed gules, dubbed silver as more playnly appeareth depicted in the margent; the which armes and crest and every parte and parcel thereof of the sayd Clarenceux kinge of armes by power and authority unto my office annexed and graunted by letters patente under the greate seal of England have ratified, confirmed, and allowed, given and granted unto and for ye above sayd Henry Muskett, gent, and to his posterite with their due differences to use, have, and shewe in shields or armour, or otherwise, without impediment, lett, or interruption of any person or persons. In witnessse whereof I the sayd Clarenceux kinge of armes have signed these presents with my hand and thereto sett the seal of my office the 13th day of September in the year of our Lord God 1576, and in the 23rd year of the reigne of our soveraigne Lady Elizab, by the grace of God Queene of England, Ffrance, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.

Rob. Cooke, alias Clarenceux, Roi Darmes.
Hart. Lib. 2146.

1585] A very strange practice which lasted for about one hundred years appears in the town papers. Whether this existed universally in the county I am not able to determine. It consisted in the churchwardens making a charge for burials in the church. Thus several of the Tyrells, from the burial of Mr. Thos. Tyrell in 1585 to the year 1670, paid a sum of money for "breaking ground in the church." But after the year 1670 this improper charge on the part of the parishioners disappears, and was resisted successfully by the vicar, for it ceases to be made. In the same manner and from the same principles, the money given at the communions for the sick and needy was carried by the churchwardens to *parish account*, and assisted to swell the parochial purse.*

1586] The pastures in the county were then large and good. The cattle good for milch and well fatted for the butcher. Cheese was made in vast quantities, and its sale extended through all England. And in Germany, France, and Spain, the Suffolk cheese which is now considered an opprobrious name for an indigestible eatable, was then exported to these countries as a delicacy. Woods and deer parks were numerous, and furnished excellent sport to the resident nobility and gentry. At Norton or Naughton near Woolpit, Henry the Eighth made some large pits and excavations in search of a

* C. W's. accounts passim. "Recd. from Mr. Thomas Tyrrell and Mr. Wachfoord for buriall of their children in ye chappel 13s. 4d." The chapel is that part within the beautifully carved screen on the north side.

EARL OF MONMOUTH.

gold mine; but he was unsuccessful. The pits however existed in Camden's days. Ipswich possessed 14 churches, "and large stately private buildings."* In 1695 there were only 12 churches, and 6 or 7 religious houses lay in ruins. The twelve burgesses were then called portmen, and two bailiffs were from them annually chosen as chief magistrates, and two justices out of twenty-four others. The castle which Hugh Bigot the lord of Stowmarket had erected here and held against Stephen, was then altogether vanished and even its situation could not be recognized. A very curious feature in the coast is mentioned by Camden as "fencing the spacious harbour Orwell." "It is a vast ridge (they call it Langerston) which for about two miles lays all along out of the sea, not without great danger and terror to mariners. 'Tis however of use to the fishermen for drying of their fish."† What this ridge is now, or where to be found it is difficult to say. The ravages on this coast have been so great that Dunwich, which before the Conquest contained 50 churches, in 1690, three—St. Peter, St. Nicholas, and a chapel only were standing, with the foundations and church-yards of St. Michael, St. Mary, St. Martin, and St. John.‡ The ditch or town bank was also then partially visible. When I visited it in 1839, one church in ruins only remained.||

1587] A curious account of some of the changes which landed property experiences in its owners is given by the Earl of Monmouth in his memoirs.§ The affections, prejudices, and avaricious passions of man present a uniformity of feature in every age. The Earl on the death of Q. Elizabeth in 1603 was the first person by courage and address to escape from the palace and gallop without intermission to Scotland, and there salute James as first king of the united islands of the British empire. He was created an Earl by Charles the First. He had dis-

STOWUPLAND—COLUMBINE HALL.

pleased Elizabeth by his marriage, for that maiden queen had a jealous aversion to matrimony in her courtiers.* He managed however to allay her displeasure, and continued still the precarious heart-consuming profession of a courtier. About this time he went to St. Alban's to attend the term. "The cause was as followeth.—There was an old gentleman in *Suffolke*, that had an old wife; his name was *Gardiner*." (The Gardiners appear in all the Stow papers for a series of years, and took an active interest in the affairs of both parishes.) "They were childless. This man in recompence of some favour my father had done him (after his own life and his wives) made an estate of a lordship of his called *Columbine hall* in *Suffolk*, to my brother William and his heires male, and for want thereof to me and my heires male, and for want thereof to my father and his heires for ever.

"My brother marries, and by fraudulent means, privately cutts mee off from the intaille and by the consent of *Gardiner* and his wife, makes his own wife's jointure of this lordship. My brother dies without children. Then it came out that this land was given in jointure to his wife. I commenced suit of law with her; my eldest brother took her part, by reason that if she had prevailed, after her life the law had cast the land upon him. My sister in law and I had proceeded so farre in Chauncery, that the cause was to be heard and decided that Michaelmasse terme at St. Alban's. Those that I put in trust to follow my law businesse wrote to me in plaine words, that neither they nor any body else durst follow the cause, they were so bitterly threatened by my brother's agent, who did assure them my brother would be there himself, to see that his sister in law should have no wrong; and then they should see who durst appear to contradict him." (In those times a powerful plaintiff by his armed servants and retainers often deterred not only the lawyers, but also the defendant from entering upon the suit, by maltreating, or even wounding them with their weapons.) "Thus did my brother by his power mean to overthrow my right in

* Gibson in *Camden*.

† *Suffolk*.

‡ *Gibson in Camden*.

§ While on this date I may mention that Caster, a village near Yarmouth was the seat of Sir John Fastolfe, a famous knight. [Camden.] Could this be the property of Shakespeare's Sir John—a Norfolk Squire?

|| *R. Cary's Memoirs*.

* "The Queen was mightily offended with mee for marrying."

GARDINER—POLEY.

my absence; for hee assured himself I durst not come too neare the court, having so lately offended the Queen, and the most of my friends by my marriage. But he was deceived, for I having heard this by my servant, that I putt in trust to follow my businesse, I presently resolved to come to *St. Alban's* and to do my best to defend my own cause. I had not been there two days, but in the lodging where I lay, my brother's man came in to take up a lodging for his master. I asked him where my brother was? He told me he was within two miles of the towne, and was come expreſſely out of the *Isle of Wight*, for no other cause but a businesse in law, wherein he made ſure account to overthrow his adversary that terme; but againſt whom it was hee knew not. Hee took horſe againe, after hee had provided a lodgинг to meet his master. Hee mett him not a mile from the towne, and told him that hee had found mee there, and that I lay in the ſame house that hee was to lye in. My brother at this newes was much troubled, and stood muſing with himſelf a goode ſpace, at laſt of a ſudaine he turned his horſe's head, and came not at all to *St. Alban's*, but went to *Windsor*, and trusted others to follow the cauſe. My cauſe was ſo just that I ended the businesſe that terme, overthrew my ſister's jointure, and had the land ſettled as it was in ſtatuto *quo prius*.^{*}

He made an effort at this time to regain the Queen's favour by appearing in a tournament as the *forsaken knight*. His outfit cost him for horſe, armour, &c. £400. But it was unsuccessful. He was however fortunate in regaining her favour at another period.

Mr. Gardiner died in 1562 and his wife in 1565.[†] Some years after, during the reign of Charles the First, this ancient manor-house with its moat and ſubſtantial red brick walls, its venerable oak trees and peaceful meadows became the property of Sir J. Poley, and continued in that family for many years. Its moated enclosure, a good part of the original house, and ſome very fine oak trees still re-

* *Carey's Memoirs*. Ed, 1759, p. 97.
† P. Registers.

SUFFOLK YEOMANRY.

main in excellent preservation, and are now the property of the Earl of Ashburnham.

1588] The forces ſupplied by Suffolk for the army encamped at Tilbury Fort to repel the Spaniards, were 50 horſemen, (lancers,) 200 light horſe, 3000 footmen. For the guard of the Queen's perſon, 70 horſemen, (lancers,) 230 light horſe, 3000 footmen. Total 6550. The whole of the forces levied but not assembled in the kingdom amounted to 56,050 infantry, 2200 light horſe, and 734 heavy cavalry, (men at arms). The bravery of the fleet however, and the winds of heaven never ſuffered the Spaniards to land.* The Suffolk yeomanry forces were (*Stow Hun.*) commanded by Sir Nic. Bacon, Sir Wm. Spring of Lavenham, Sir J. Heigham, and Robert Foorde, esq. and amounted to 2,000 men. These formed a part of that brave army, which if the Spaniards had been permitted to land would have defended the kingdom from Rome and Spanish bondage.† In 1599 a muster of horſemen was ordered at Brentwood with armour to assist the government in keeping down the disaffected at home. Amongſt them are the Stowe names of Jermy, Glover, Crosse, Kyrke, Aldred, Wells, Edgar, Mawe, Brame, Bull, Gooding, Pooley, Aldrydge, Grymestone, Ryvett, Smyth, Bloomfield, Cooke, Worlyche, Aldhuse. Sir Philip Parker and Sir Ant. Wingfield, commanders. 81 horſe marched from this ſide of the county.

1590] The Rev. Mr. Peagrim was vicar and for ſeveral years he kept their accounts at the vestry meetings in his own hand. The "reckninge day" was an important era in parish annals, not merely because it discharged the wardens from their responsibility, but also from its never-failing accompaniments of meates, and drinkes, and cakes, at the expense of the parish, and to which all the respectable parishioners were invited. This day for more than a hundred years was the 10th of January commonly called Plove Monday. Then they enumerated what

* *Stow*

† *Suff. Bree. in Hart. Lib.* p. 65. Robert Crane of Chilton in Stowmarket married Bridget a daughter of Sir Robert Jermyn, kt. from him came the Sir Robert to whom this Breviary is dedicated.

PROVINCIAL THEATRE.

each person was indebted to "the Burrogh," and ordered the rents of the town property to be paid half yearly. The cruel sport of cock-fighting was a common amusement on all such festive occasions, but "the burrough" did not provide it on any of their reckoning dayes. They chose the more refined enjoyment of seeing plays and hiring players, whilst the "Upland" occasionally indulged in the barbarous pleasures of the cock pit. On one occasion they provided four cocks for fighting at their reckoning day, at the parish expense.* These expenses must not be confounded with our present poor rates;† they were exclusively voluntary rates levied on themselves for any purpose they pleased, and amongst these were Routs, Reckninge dayes, Players, and Fighting cocks.

1591] During one of the Queen's progresses in this neighbourhood, the wardens had hired a company of players from Ipswich to perform before her majesty. In this festive outlay which was then a very common amusement the Upland had joined them. John Corke of Ipswich was the manager of these provincial theatricals, and "owr pt of the price of the players apparell came to 14s. 6d."‡ The manager

* 1584, Accounts Upland.

† See chap. on management of the poor.

‡ Town Ch. for a picture.

LADIES AT VESTRIES.

received a certain sum from the parish for his appearance, and took all risk of what he could make besides on himself; but the accounts were not settled till this year.

It was customary in these and for 220 years afterwards to elect one new warden every year. The old one then remained in to instruct his brother, and at the end of his second year retired and made room for another parishioner.

1595 & 9] It was not unusual for some years at this period to permit ladies to attend the annual vestry meeting of the parishioners. This they did as owners of large property in the parish. They signed the books with the rest and gave their vote. Thus we have the names of Agnes Gardner, Brown, &c. attending on the election of Churchwardens, and giving their opinion and voices in the management of the town property and concerns. It may have originated in the nation being governed by a queen, whose vigorous administration made the appearance of the fair sex in active business to be considered no usurpation upon the rights of man. It was not popular however and lasted for only five years; the ladies then retired to their proper kingdom and ruled their world of home.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE COUNTY TOWN AND MEETINGS—WITH THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO THE HUNDRED A.D. 1265 TO A.D. 1600.

EARLY CUSTOMS.

COUNTY meetings were often held for other purposes than the election of members. Thus (49 Hen. III: A.D. 1265) a writ was issued commanding the sheriff in each county to elect four discreet knights (*quatuor legales et discretos milites,*) who should attend the

EARLY CUSTOMS.

king at Westminster, and there inform him what aid (*quale auxilium*) could be given from the county towards his assistance in the wars. These meetings being most important and of very serious concern to each county were held in the central town or

COUNTY TOWNS.

place of assembly (as at Stowmarket.) The sheriff was also threatened with imprisonment and loss of goods if he failed in getting all the king's debts and rents.*

[1578] On the 12th of May a county meeting was held in the Town, when many resolutions were passed for keeping up the training of men, and it was determined "they should spend their time principallie in the shott wh the bullett."† It was impossible it would seem to keep the bowe in fashion when the harquebusse or pistol was found so much more effective a weapon. In 1589 the commissioners were instructed to press the exercise of the bowe "which was then much decayed," but no such directions were now enforced. The musters and training were made for two dayes twice a year in some one place. It was customary to appoint Stowmarket as the place of assemblage for the whole county of all ranks, but when the justices or gentry assembled by themselves, sometimes Ipswich was nominated.‡ This seems to have been the immemorial custom. *Elections* in polling were often held at Ipswich; *Nominations and all other general meetings* were held at Stowmarket the Town for county meetings. The assizes were held here in the reign of Charles the first. This practice existed only a few years, and for some cause they were again removed to Ipswich.|| A dispute arose in the reign of Charles the First (A.D. 1641) about the possession of the name of *county town*, and Bury appears to have laid claim to this title. The sheriff then gave it to Ipswich; but in 1652 the ancient custom prevailed. A most important election for members to Oliver's parliament was then held in Stowmarket, and the county assembled here as of old. Since that period there has been no interruption to county meetings in this ancient town.§

COUNTY MEETINGS.

[1581] This was the first parliament in which two separate members apart from Norfolk were sent from Suffolk. Before this period one sheriff only was nominated for both counties. The nominations were continued and made at Stowmarket; the election was completed by the voters on some following day at Ipswich. Sir Nic. Bacon and Thos. Seckford, esq. were the then members.*

[1592] The grievances arising from purveyors and takers to her majesty for the provision of the royal household were so great in different parts of the kingdom, that several counties held meetings and placed their taxation upon a more fixed principle. Of Suffolk it happened "that the fertility of the soile for variety of provision, the nearnesse of this countrey for near and ready carriage, the fitnesse of our havens for quick conveyance of the same, hath emboldened such officers far to exceed their commission. The taxation was monstrous."† The Queen therefore permitted the several countees to arrange their own composition by commissioners appointed by themselves. In this county "the first meeting about Queen Elizabeth's household was at Stowmarket, Sept. 12, 1592." Sir Rob. Jermyn, knt. was the compounder in 1594. Sir Philip Parker, Edward Grimstone, esq. and Sir John Higham, compounders in 1595. These meetings were held yearly for some time. The county assembled at their usual centre, Stowmarket, and regulated their proportion of the money, or provisions instead of money, at a fixed price, which should be paid to the purveyors. "Upon our first meeting at STOWMARKET this day and year, wee the justices of the county of Suffolk, whose names are hereunder written, advisedly considering (whether it is fittest for the quiet and benefit of this county) to hold the composition made for the delivery of provision of victuals for her majesty's most honourable household—do assent and agree for this one year ensuing that the composition shall hold." This amounted to £602 : 16 : 0. The payments were to be made "at Mr. Surveyor's house in Ipswich." John Muckworth, esq. "having money

* *Prynne Brev. Parl.* 2nd pt. 26.

† *Suff. Harl. Bib.* 133 and 86.

‡ *Bib. Harl.* 286. 39, A.D. 1579. A meeting of justices by Sir P. Parker.

|| Church chest papers in the reign.

§ Sermon by Mr. Gurnall on this occasion in Vicar's Record-book.

* *Suff. Brev. Hart. Lib.* p. 49.

† *Ryce's Brev. of Suff.*—*Jermyn M.S.* 8200, *Brit. Mus.*

PURVEYORS.

in his hands, was appointed to carry for the county," and supply the purveyors with regularity. That he might "not be wearied" in his office, he was only to be considered voluntarily responsible for one year; and on the 28th of September "if it be not Sunday, and if Sunday the day before, to meet at Stowmarket," to appoint some other of the justices to take the care of this service.* The high constable of each Hundred was empowered at this meeting to present at sessions before the justices of each district, and after at the county sessions, those who refused to pay, and if they were still refractory then they were cited before the Lords of the Council to answer their contempt. At several periods in the early years of this composition and after these great annual meetings of the county at Stowmarket, the Stowuplanders were seized for their deficient payments towards the composition. But the spirit of refusal never carried them beyond the petty sessions of the Hundred. This composition was the best method of meeting the tax.†

These county assemblages were continued yearly in this "Burrow" for that purpose from 1592 to 1606. The annual tax levied varied from † £551 16s. to £800. The victualling of the navy during this reign was supplied altogether from Suffolk. And the fertility of the county was so remarkable, that not only this drain on its resources was amply made up, but "the oats for her majesty's stable" were also bought exclusively by the purveyors within its limits.||

1578] The Queen in one of her progresses passed through the Towne and breakfasted under a large oak tree in Onehouse, which is yet standing in the garden of Onehouse Hall. Its girth is 28 feet, and it still remains a solitary giant reminding us of a thousand years that are past. This local tradition is curiously confirmed by the papers in our chests. It was customary on these occasions for all the neighbouring parishes to contribute towards the amusement and entertainment of the royal household. Games, sports, plays, and warlike pastimes were got

* Sir P. Parker in 1597 (28th Sep.) ib.

† M.S. church chest in several papers.

‡ 1603. || Suff. Brev. p. 9, 10.

THE QUEEN IN THE HUNDRED.

up by the loyal people in the surrounding towns and villages. Elizabeth loved all such instances of a free and joyous spirit in her people. She accepted their efforts however rude with a majestic grace, and expected to be royally entertained that she might dispense her popular favours with that cordial dignity which attached the people to herself and the throne.

In this ancient Burrough her reception appears to have been warm and enthusiastic. Onehouse possessed a large mansion, and its situation seated on a rising ground overlooking a wooded valley with the waters of the small stream running through it from Rattlesden, is one of the prettiest for picturesque effect in the neighbourhood. This old hall was encompassed by a moat, and had been the baronial residence of Lord Burghersh in the reign of Edward the Third. He was one of those twelve chivalrous noblemen to whom the prince of Wales had been committed at the battle of Cressy. At this period of the Queen's visit it was still standing surrounded by most magnificent woods; for in 1776 a few ashen trees were growing in the base court on the outside of the moat toward the east, which contained more than 1300 feet of solid timber. Whilst in 1781 near the old oak tree, a broad leafed elm then grew whose boughs extended nearly 300 feet in circumference. The church stands near the present farm house; and at the Queen's visit a more appropriate place, from the majestic beauty of woods and mighty trees of gleaming water in the sunshine in the valley, and a sweet verdant elevation of hill with a noble old peaceful mansion, could not have been selected for a royal breakfast.* A stripe of the ancient woods with which this Hundred was beautified remains in its natural condition in this parish, and is worth a visit amongst other objects in the district by the tourist.

Our Burrough towne Warden sent in "the one halfe of a calfe for the Queene" which cost 11*iiii.* "Wafe arrowes" for some shooting pastime were also part of his charges, with "half of a ferkyn of butter" for her majesty.† The "players from Ipswich" (men-

* Suffolk Garland, p. 19.

† Parish Record, book 11.

HER BREAKFAST, ETC.

tioned in the accounts afterwards) were also obtained for some of those pageants of which the age was so fond. The Upland wardens provided "capon, cockrels, and pulletts" * with "butter and a calfe," so that the "Queene's majestie" had no occasion to look beyond her loyal Burrough for her breakfast, at a time when tea and coffee were unknown words and things, and when "bere and bread" were the staple articles of all meals amongst gentle and simple. The Uplanders however assisted in providing her majesty with amusement in paying 'for ringers and singers' †

The progresses of the great Queen in Suffolk, and her visit to different noblemen and gentlemen occurred in 1560, 1577, 1578, 1579.‡ Sir Thos. Gresham who built the first Royal Exchange possessed a house and estates at *Batisford* an adjoining parish. Here between 1577 and 1599 it is probable the Queen was entertained at his house.|| In 1578 she entered Suffolk attended by Sir W. Spring of Lavenham; Sir W. Drury of Hawsted; Sir Wm. Cordall; Sir Robt. Jermyn of Rushbroke; Sir Thos. Kidson; Mr. Arthur Higham, and was met by 200 young gentlemen on horseback in white velvet, and 300 graver persons in black with gold chains about their necks. Returning from Norwich she visited Thetford "where in very deede the fare and banquets did so exceed a number of other places that it is worthy the mention."§ Thence she went to Sir Thos. Kidson at Hengrave. "A shew representing the phayries as well as might be was there seen; in the which show a rich jewell was presented to the Queen's highnesse. From thence to MAISTER REVETS (of Onehouse hall,)¶ where all things were well, and in very good order, and meate liberally spent." The son of Mr. Rivett appears to have been knighted on this occasion, and the manor of Wood hall in Rattles-

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S VISIT.

den may have been granted to the father (James) at the same time, for he held it at his death in 1581 as a gift from the Queen.* He was a man of large possessions and had estates in Buxhall, Rattlesden, Onehouse, Sheland, Stowmarket, Ffinborough, Raydon hall, W. Cretinge, the other Cretings, Stonham, the manor of Pfenhall (Finborough) and other places. His son Sir Thomas was a merchant and alderman of London, and his mother was "demoiselle Joan Raven of Stowmarket."†

"From mayster Revets her highnesse came to my Lord North's" at Kestling, and so returned to her court at London.

On these occasions the most sumptuous expense was undertaken by the gentry and nobility whom she visited. Some of them felt the burden of the honour for several years, but most obtained a courtly recompence in rank or employments. Elizabeth accepted and looked for their loyalty as the Sovereign of a powerful nation, but she rewarded them as a Queen. Many of these places retain traditional memorials of her visits. At Onehouse a rose tree was planted by her hand, and a scion of this tree still flourishes on the remnant of the original house. She encouraged the clothiers in this county. Spring, Kitson, Cordall, and other families employed in Stowmarket, Lavenham, and Hadleigh, several thousand hands in spinning and weaving woollen stuffs. These gentlemen were particularly distinguished, and Rivett, of Stowmarket as a wealthy land-holder, and his son as a great London merchant were not overlooked. Policy as much as courtly inclination determined the houses where she visited. Her religious principles were also never forgotten, and as a true member of the church she discouraged by her example and speeches both the Dissenters and Roman Catholics. When in passing through this neighbourhood she perceived that all the gentlemen came in company with the clergymen of each parish—"Now I have learned,"

* Bills Upland Chest.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Nichols' Progresses.*
|| *Nichols 2*—"Batisford near Ipswich"—he means the parish adjoining Combs, see chap. 21.

§ The narrator in *Nichols 2*.

¶ *Hart. Lib.* 639, p. 192. This is erroneously called Rattleden the next parish, in the progress, whereas Mr. Rivett lived at Onehouse, but had land in Rattlesden, and possessed the manor of Woodhall there by the Queen's gift.—*Nichols.*

* *Inquisitions Hart. Lib.* 639.

† 1582] Alice Rivett married Sir Gilbert Gerard master of the Rolls, and her daughter Eliza Gerard was married to Sir Wm. Russell, treasurer of the navy and baronet in 1628. *Jermyn Addenda—Arms—Hart. Lib.*

THE QUEEN'S VISITS—IPSWICH.

she exclaimed with courtly sagacity, 'why my county of Suffolk is well governed. It is because the magistrates and clergy go together. They are the two legs on which a church and state stand.'* In 1651 during her visit at Ipswich she found great fault with many of the clergy in that town because they scrupled the wearing of the surplice, exclaiming with scriptural wisdom "that many weak ones were amongst them." Suffolk was notorious, and Ipswich was a leading offender at this period in dissenting weaknesses, and the resistance of primitive customs. They could not avoid the errors of Rome without flying into the erroneous novelties of Geneva, and not having strength of mind sufficient to maintain the difficulties of a Protestant position, the weak clergy scrupled the surplice, whilst the more crafty and stronger-minded dissenting brethren pretended to scruple it that they might introduce a Presbyterian equality and apostatize from Episcopacy.

The expense attending these progresses was very great. For four days' stay at Ipswich during one journey (1651) the purveyors expended 46*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* (Aug. 6.) Provision was brought in from the surrounding parishes and some of it paid for at a fixed rate, but much was taken as a part of the royal prerogative, and continual complaints arose which might have produced serious disturbances if the queen's popularity had not been great. She passed from Ipswich to Shelly-hall and Smallbridge in Buers St. Mary, Heveningham, Gosfield, Lees, and at Helmingham was entertained without cost by Sir Lionel Tolmache. On these occasions the host was occasionally honoured by her Majesty's fancying on her departure some articles in the house. But this was not always done, and when spoons, or forks, or jewels, and cups were taken, it was thought she conferred a special favour on her entertainers. In five days Sir Nic. Bacon (of Drinkstone who interested himself in Stowmarket) expended £600 in receiving, feasting, and amusing her highness at Gorhambury.

The abuses of the Purveyors were very great. At

* Gurnall's (pastor of Lavenham) Sermon at Stowmarket during the county election 1656, in author's collection of Stow papers.

HER HABITS.

Guildford in 1591,* oats, mault, wine, hay, cocks, capons, meat, and the carriage of various commodities are enumerated, corresponding with entries of similar things in many papers in the Stowmarket church chests during the years from 1578 to 1595.

We possess a very curious collection of papers on large thick yellow folio sheets, from 1570 to 1590, containing different particulars connected with the supply of her Majesty's table when in progress through different parts of this county, or as provision when supplied to London for the household. They present numerous items of "ducks, wax hens, capons, cockes, pullets, chycvens, sweet otes, rye, wheate, strawe, butter, chese, and live calves," and the prices paid for them, as they were carried to the Royal Purveyors. On one occasion the ducks, pullets, and capons provided by Stowpland and the town, were carried to Needham-Market, and there, the Purveyors not being ready to receive them, they were kept "one wholle week" at the expense of the parishioners, being fed with "pecks of barley" the whole time, to maintain them in good condition for her table.† On another occasion "chycvens and capones" were got at Deb. Turner's to "peache the Purveyora." A countryman on one of these visitations having enquired for the Queen, expressed personally to her his astonishment at her thinness. "Thou art one of the rarest women I ever saw—but the Queen Elizabeth I look for devours so many of my hens, ducks, and capons, that I am not able to live."‡ But in this neighbourhood the custom appears to have been for the different parishes to contribute what was required by the regal officers. The constables paid the people for the poultry, and charged the amount in the parish accounts. Thus the burden fell upon the whole community, and no individual cases of hardship occurred here to mar the general loyalty. We have no immediate means of ascertaining whether this was a general practice throughout the county, or whether it was done by our "Burrough" and

* See Nichols, b. 4, pt. 1.

† Ch. M.S. No. 5, Q.

‡ Osborne's *Nat. Hist.* vol. 1, p. 54.

HER MANNERS.

Hundred as an easy and prudent method of providing for her Majesty without loss to the subject, by a general light taxation of every parishioner.

In her progresses the humblest person might with proper reverence approach and speak to her. She never forgot that she was born a queen, and even when most inclined to yield to woman's weaknesses she preserved her state in the majesty of its rank. She united herself to all hearts by showing that she possessed and would let all feel her woman's heart; but preserved all her people in the rank of subjects by never forgetting that this woman's home was on the throne. Thus she made her popularity so valued on account of its dignity that it was never familiarized into contempt, and yet so accessible and gracious that it was never complained of as pride.

"Wages and wage for the Quene" from 11s. viiiid. to xviid. are numerously mentioned, which are probably the expenses attending the carriage of the live poultry and other things wanted by the Purveyors. On two separate occasions* they kept "wache" either for or in guarding the Quene, and paid a man xiid. to serve in this capacity. It is rather singular that no geese are mentioned in any of these papers; "polites" or pullets with all the varieties of hens and cocks abound, but no other kind of poultry, "when the quene's poldrter came."† And "wehy" or wey is once mentioned as supplied.‡ Also a charge of xviiid. for "part of a horse for the Quene's majeste."

From the year 1570 to 1595 the Upland of Stowe was most particular in attending and paying for clock, chymes, and bells, which were all kept going apparently more often at their expense than by the Churchwardens of Stowmarket. In 1576 they had been "indited" to London and Norwich to make their "verdit." But it does not clearly appear on what grounds they were brought into the Ecclesiastical court. The expenses and fees for "procters and docters" are mentioned, and his "own charges" as Warden came to xxviii. and iiiiid. Some neglect in taking care of the church and refusing their moiety of the expense towards the sacred building appear to have been the causes of this "inbytion and site-

ANCIENT PAPERS.

ment." But after this period we hear of no further neglect of the church until the breaking out of the civil wars.*

1581] An ancient lease of some of the town property.

"Memorandum yt thin yer a thousand five hundred eightie and one bye the consente of the pahe of Stowmarkt theare was grondre made to Thomas Kyndersley and Thomas How of the grondre commonly called the towne grondre of Stowemarket for the termes of thre yeare—paying to ye churchwardens of Stowemarket yerlye fiftie shillings duringe the syd tearme. And the toun further dothe condiasion wh the syd ptes—Thomas How and Thomas Kynderaley yt they shall make noe strip nor waste uppone since the same grondre or the wode thereto belonging: nor till it nor break it upp. Onlye they shall take so muche wode and noe more wh mayke kepe the fence of the syde grondre in gode and sufficient repayers. Thomas How—by me Thomas Kyndersley." *Parish Record*, book No. 57.

1586] Mr. Thos Biram was now "vicker" of the parishes and loyalty to the Queen, and all the Protestant institutions prevailed in these parishes. Even those who had remained Roman Catholics as at Wetherden in the service of the Sulliards, the great family in that parish, were generally so patriotic, as to compel their wishes for the re-establishment of their religion to yield to the determination of resisting foreign invasion. For rumours in this and the following year were abundantly circulated respecting the Spanish Armada, and that great army which the king of Spain was fitting out under the express order and blessing of the Pope, for the detriment of the Queen and the extirpation of the English heretics. Every furious name in the catalogue of vulgar abuse was freely lavished at this time upon our church, nation, and queen. The sovereign most wisely appealed to the loyalty of the people. Many traitors existed amongst the population. Mr. Sulliard at Wetherden, whose family had been active in Queen Mary's persecutions was observed and watched. No disturbances occurred however in this district. The towne armour was kept in complete order, "the featherydge and headyng of arrowes and bowe strynge" was one of their duties—a watch "armed with bowes and arrowes" went their nightly rounds. They contributed "to the last navy going

* No. 6 and 2.

† No. 9.

‡ No. 10.

* No. 15, Q.

SPANISH ARMADA.

forth"—the bells never failed to keep the loyalty of the inhabitants awake, and good dinners provided by the parishes sustained the ringers in their arduous duties.* In July 1588, the great fleet, or invincible Armada, was encountered by our ships in the Channel. Ipswich had contributed with Harwich to man and equip our own fleet, and after several engagements when at anchor off Calais, several fire ships sent by the English Admiral so terrified the whole Armada that every ship cut her cables and ran out to sea. A storm of wind then commenced. They were driven along the coasts of Suffolk and Norfolk into the north sea, and in their endeavours to return round Ireland, more than two thirds of this mighty armament was lost, ship-wrecked, and destroyed. Thus ended this threatened invasion, and so marked was the hand of Providence in their discomfiture that a medal struck by Elizabeth to commemorate the event, had for its motto the inscription—"He blew with his winds and they were scattered."

1576] It may be interesting to see the exact method of "the bonds" and form of admitting Churchwardens to their office at this early period in parishes.† The parishioners assembled by public notice about Christmas in each year, and there made choice of those who were to bear this responsibility. At a later period the Vicar nominated one from each parish as his wardens, and the parish two others, which is the custom now legally established in this and many other places.

"9 Jan. 1576. We appoint Churchwardens for the yeare ensuing John Scarlet, John Revet to provide all these foarsaid duties owing to ye towne—and to make a true reckning thereof at the end of there yeare—to make in this office a faithful inventory to ye towne—to yield a true account at the next reckning day, and then deliver such sums of money as are due to the towne in the parishes, and remain in the Hundred—and this to do, they bind themselves singly and severallie to ye towne by their handes hereto subscribed.

"They praye to be allowed what they have layde out for the towne in the severall bills. John Revet—John Scarlet."

1588] The sum received for towne property by the Wardens was £26 : 6 : 2—£105 : 4 : 8.

* C. W's. accounts both parishes.
† Query—all parishes?

PRICES, NAMES, &c. 1400—1600.

Old Mother Huberd, known in our nursery rhymes is a common name to several families in both parishes up to the year 1600. So also is the legal family of Doe which exists to the present day. We have Boby, Parker, Kebell, Cooke, Howe, Stephens, Cork, Cottingham, Browne, Taylor, Smarte, Simondes, Alpe, Pratt, Moody, Wood, Goymer, Mylner, Wells, Wright, Kyse, Heyward, Copyn, Swain, Borowe, Rose, Ffarthing, Sergeant, Godard, Tytell, Sorrell, Whifield, Scarlet, Scalpy, Osborne, Leek, Lucas, Robert Stowmarket, one family only existed and appear soon extinct, taking their names as formerly nameless men from obtaining some consideration when abroad in wars or trade, and so founding a family name from their birth place. Thus also we have a family of Debenham and one of Haugley. The old Saxon family of our friend Brem appear in Stowupland in 1603.

During several of these years (from 1559 to 1603) pestilential diseases afflicted this county of different kinds. In some cases three members in a family died in the same month within a few days of each other, and occasionally two were buried on the same day. The plague or severe typhus frequently moved from one town to another, and the seasons are complained of as sickly.

At this period from 1500 to 1600, Gardner, Browne, and Polye, were three leading families of esquires and people of influence in Stowupland at Columbine hall.

The curious reader will recognize the Saxon and Danish origin of some of these names, whilst others are Flemish. The numbers might be much increased if space permitted.

Norton, Codd, Garnham, Drivere, Harrison, Ffytther, Wyse, Ostler, Heddell, Moese, Seamond, Byram, Brooke, Colty, Scarlet, Kebell, Randall, Colson, Corker, Johnson, Maltrew, Reed, Richmond, Barnard, Andrews, Moore, Pickerell, Bacon, Fford, Worhman, Bird, Fisher, Marten, Clogge, Garrard, Baudry, Walton, Perseveril, Barton, Stegold, Robenson, Ward, Tyl, &c. Broadway, Reynolds, Morddy, King, Opson, Dorlmen, Smyth, Chenevy, Mason, Colty, Manning, Turner, Fysher, Ffrancis, Bridge, Howe, Marthew, Watson, Woode, Tarrell, Simonde, Haugley, Colson, Pickerell, Godard, Hayward, Kembell, Garnham.

1559] First Register of Marriages.

Thomas Rivet married Alea. Marshall	Oct.
J. Clarke	Ann Wood
R. Chynery	Isabel Cottingham
W. Kyse	Margry Chothe
J. Howe	Ales. Me—n
W. White	Jane Huberd
R. Wood	Alea. Mercor
R. Poles	
R. Grone	
J. Howe	

1566] Stowupland called the hamlet.

A lode of straw $\text{IIII}.$.

1569] Rent of two acres in Upland xii. IIId.

1573] Men's wages at very hard work VIIIId. per day with bere, at ordinary IVd.

Half a waye of cheese for the Queen vs. IIID.

1576] Washing the surplices and table cloths $1\frac{1}{2}d.$

Making chyme hammers IId.

1579] The sum "payd to Mr. Vickar for making a certificate of the buryinge and christeninga was IIId. " No. 12, Q.

1580] Sacramental wyne was $2d.$ a quarte.

1581] A Stowupland constable charged for going to Burye with his horse, for refreshment during the day my dyner VId. —his bayte IId. —one penny the werdyt makyng

PRICES, NAMES, ETC.

1582] A capon *vii d.*—a calfe *v.*—a firkyn of butter *viii s.*
viid.—a capon and a pullett *vii d.*—a cooke (to fight) *iiii d.*
 (5 cockes bought to fight)—a pullett *iiid.* 5 pullets, 5
 capons, 5 cockes, 1 calfe, were provided on the reckynge
 day and “these are allowed in the Churchwardens’ ac-
 compte to be paide by them, viz. by Tuffell and Wright,”
 Upplonde of Stowe.

1590] To Coke for *iiii* combes of w otes whh he served
 to the Quene *vii s.* *viiid.*

14 rod of ditching cost *v.* *iiiiid.*

Layd out for my own charges when I was constabell
 (Wm. Goddard) *iiis.* *vii d.*

1596] Makinge a surplus for the church was *iid.*

A payer of houise was *xiid.* another *xiiid.*

Makyngh this boke of accys (a single sheet written
 on two sides) *vii d.*

1599] Three days work ditchyng *2s.*—a hard day’s work
 was therefore *8d.* per day, and a usual day’s *4d.* or *6d.*

Three days thatchinge (Thos. Garrarde) *iiis.* *iiiiid.*

Wode was *iiis.* the lode.

1587 or 8] “J. Wright and W. Tuffnell, C. W’s Upland.

Widdow Bird for a capon *vii d.*

To Forgane for a capon *vii d.*

For a calfe *v.*

Also for a firkyn of butter *vii s.* *viiid.*

Thos. Kible for two capons and one pullett *vii d.*

W. Wallin for a capon *viiid.*

To J. Berd for a cooke *iiid.*

Sabastian Cirricke for one cooke and one pullett *vii d.*

PRICES, NAMES, ETC.

To Roodling for one pullett *iiid.*
 To Gaffer Woldinge for one pullett *iiid.*
 This is allowed in the Ch. Wards. accompts and to be paid
 by them viz. by Wright and Tuffell.”

1583 No. 5] In another account—

One short spurred cooke *iid.* at Steven Keble

One chycken to Sebastian Williams *iid.*

One hene at Rob. Hayward’s yard *iid.*

1583 No. 4] Fower combes and too bushell of ottes at
ivs. *ivd.* the combe.

Thre henes att thre pence a pece.

Bowen and arrowes *iiid.*

1597] Prices which the compoundingers fixed provisions at
 the County Meeting at Stowmarket. [Reyce’s Breviary,
Harl. Lib.

	£.	s.	d.
Wheat 100 qts. at 40s.	-	-	200 00 00
Butter 40 barrels at 25s.	-	-	050 00 00
Bacon 40 fitches at 5s.	-	-	010 00 00
Capons 20 doz.—hens 4 doz.—chickens	}	110	00 00
100 doz.—and pullets 4 doz.			
Veals 300 at 10s. a piece	-	-	150 00 00
Porks 60 at 8s. 4d. each	-	-	025 00 00
Styrkes 30 at 23s. 4d. each	-	-	035 00 00
Boars 6 at 20s. each	-	-	006 00 00
Wax 600 lb. at 6d. per lb.	-	-	026 16 00
	£	s.	d.
	602	16	00

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST POOR LAW ; AND THE MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR
 FROM 1350 TO 1843.

WAGES.

1350] A grievous pestilence had for some four or
 five years so affected the country that numbers of
 persons died, and labourers being scarce, many per-
 sons refused to work unless at very high wages. A
 commission was issued to the counties to enquire
 into these complaints and ascertain the state of the peo-
 ple, and fix the price of wages. When paid in coin, they
 were to reckon wheat at ten pence a bushel. If a man
 received a bushel of wheat per week as his wages, he
 was to be paid ten pence. In hay-making they were
 to have a penny per day. An acre was to be mowed
 for five pence. In the first week of August when

WAGES.

harvest began reapers had two pence per day, in the
 second three pence, and so on till the end of the
 month, without meat or drink. A quarter of wheat
 or rye was to be thrashed for *2½d.* Carpenters,
 masons, &c. were paid *3d.* and *2d.* per day.—a mas-
 ter free mason *4d.*—tylers and their *knaves* *1d.*—
 plaisterers and other workers of mud walls and their
 knaves *1d.* no meat or drink. The magistrates had
 the power of altering these wages according to the time
 of the year. If they refused they were to be imprisoned
 forty days, and it was to be doubled at each offence.
 Sessions were then held four times a year in Stow,

FIRST ACT OF PHILIP AND MARY.

and no labourer or servant could leave the county without permission on pain of imprisonment.*

1388] No servant or labourer in the Hundred could seek work or wander from the parishes of the Hundred, unless he obtained a license so to do from the magistrates, sealed with the town seal and subscribed by their hands. Thus vagrancy was forbidden and every man rendered accountable for his actions. No poor man could travel without a pass. Licenses for begging were also granted from one Hundred to another. Some persons begged as pilgrims, others as impotent folk or paupers, some as poor scholars, but all were obliged to carry certificates, and no man could ask an alms of another without this necessary declaration by authority of his poverty.†

1555] So early as this year some attempt was made to introduce a public collection for the poor. Their distress was very great. The church their constant friend had been deprived of so much property that she could not assist them as before. An act was passed in the reign of Philip and Mary for the relief of the poor; "and that idle and loytering persons and vauliant beggars may be avoided." Hundreds of such wandering persons visited the roads in these counties, and made travelling even between towns at a short distance very dangerous. It was ordered that after divine service on Sundaye, "the parsonne," vicar, or curate, and churchwardens in every parish should nominate two "hable personnes or more to be gatherers for the poor." These men on Sundaye when the people are at church were directed to "*gently aske and demandade* (curious words to connect together) of every man and woman, what theye of their charitey wyl be contented to geve weeklye toward the relief of the poore, and the same to be wrythen in the said register or book."‡ This is the first rudimental form of that noble poor law which afterwards in the reign of Elizabeth was made the law of the land. And for many years the rate was only made by asking but was not compulsory in giving

ITS VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE.

or in specifying the amount. Thus persons here who could well afford to give a 6d. rate per week gave only one half-penny.* And it was no doubt the experience of this unjust mode of voluntary rating which induced the wise counsellors of Elizabeth to make it compulsory on property. Yet after this it was kept and gathered as a weeklye poor rate for many years.† Those who received relief under this first system are distinctly defined. "The pore in very dede are the impotent, feble, and lame. The more impotent to have the more helpe, and such as can get part of their livinge to have the lesse—or to be put in such labour as they be fy, none are to goe openly a beggyng"‡ "The two hable men" thus selected as gatherers could not refuse office under a penaltie of fiftie shillings. They were to report quarterly to the parish of their doings; and if any surplus remained in their hands it was to be put into the church chest at the end of the year. If any parish had more poore than it could support, then upon certificate from two justices, a license to beg was granted to the overplus poor, and they were allowed to wander as licensed beggars over a certain district assigned to them in the license. If they were found beyond the limits defined in this paper, they were then whipped lustily "as a vauliant beggar." But we may readily conceive they must have been "right vauliant beggars" in their privileged districts, and this act of parliament beggary became very shortly intolerable licentiousness. They had a badge affixed on their backs and breasts by the justices stating them to be "licensed beggars." Thus one county or Hundred might empty its beggars into another. And violences, thefts, and robberies were not checked, but rather licensed by this well-meant but injudicious legislation. If any person who had been gently asked to contribute stoutly refused, he was cited before the bishop and "reasoned with," but still no legal compulsion was enforced. And the scandal only of being thus branded uncharitable, was supposed to be a sufficient punishment and to

* *Pickering.*

† Black letter in Stow Chest.

‡ *Ibid.*

* Chest papers in these reigns.

† Black letter—chest.

‡ Ch. papers.

ITS FAILURE.

be productive of more charity. This first act failed in putting down beggary or in raising a sufficient rate for the poor. One parish or several had perhaps none, and then they were flooded with licensed beggars whom it was dangerous to refuse. Another had poor, and few persons would contribute. The scandal of a "citement before the bishop" was inefficient, for a new element began to make its appearance against payments sanctioned by religious authority. The puritan conscience of those who protested beyond the Reformation against Popery shewed itself. And men began to soothe their own selfishness into a belief, that if conscience could but be made to fancy it was against religious opinion to pay, the refusal to pay was a dignified and holy thing. They forgot in their new-born religious knowledge that the Saviour himself and his Apostles, and all the first Christians paid taxes to a heathen government, and by their money assisted to provide the state with sacrifices to idols. The half-voluntary, half-compulsory principle having failed, and licensed beggary being worse than the former gypsy wandering of the poor man, the noble poor law of Elizabeth and by its holy principles, if well sustained in a modified form of the present law, will still be one of the safeguards and glories of our country.

1566] On the 8th of February the parishioners of Stowupland held their "reckning day," and agreed that "on new yeaeres even at the towne howse" * the meeting should be held, and the churchwardens deliver up their accounts. "The tenant thereof to p'wide for xxii men their dyners even on the same daye, and to be allowed by the ch. wardens yearly for the same vii. viiiid." From this period the gatherings for "the pore" in these parishes appear in regular annual succession, and were made every week by collectors appointed at the meeting. The poor law which levied a rate on property by act of Parliament was not passed until 1601, so that for a period of

* C. Ws. Ffrances Codd and Robert Goddard—before John Gordyn, gent. Wm. Keble, jun. Stephen Keble, Ffrances Codd, Wm. Keble, sen. Gyles Keble, Thomas Keble, Robt. Goddard, Robt. Wright, S. Stephyn, Robt. Byng, Thomas Towgat.

AN HONOURABLE SINGULARITY.

nearly forty years these parishes voluntarily taxed themselves for the assistance and comfort of their own poor. This exercise of self-denial and charity may probably have been very general, and from it possibly arose a popular desire to possess an authoritative law on the subject. But I am not aware if any series of papers exist on this curious subject such as we possess in the town chests. Their care for the poor in these parishes is most honourable, and if singular is most remarkable. Many persons who could have contributed gave only small sums, and great inequality existed in this voluntary rating of the parishioners.* The payments to the poor were made occasionally as they required it in "their need," and varied from 1*d.* to 1*s.* Wood was given in winter for their firing.†

In 1576, weekly payments began to be made to poore people.‡ They also assisted them to pay their rent. In some of the papers the poor rate is entered as "what was gathered for the poor," proving the nature of the act, and that the amount weekly of what each person gave and thus distributed by the Churchwardens, was not a compulsory, but a strictly voluntary assessment. It would be desirable to ascertain if this system was universal. One could hardly conceive that a small town like Stowmarket should stand alone in such a charitable work, and be so much superior to other parishes in systematic charity. This system may have been general in Suffolk for forty years before the famous poor law of Elizabeth made it compulsory—but is this pro-

* Accts. Thos. Garrard, Myles Cottingham C. Wards. Stow 1566.

† 1571] W. Kebel and Thos. Kebel C. Wards. J. Camplyn, W. Waller, J. Pyman, par. officers. vii lodes of woode ix. xiiid. to the pore. The whole expenses includyng church and poor were iiii. vii. iid. in Stowupland, amounting to about £10 now; a corresponding period in Stowmarket makes the town receipts to be 26*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* and payments for poor and church were 21*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* about £7*s.* now. John Baxter and Robert Symonds Ch. Ws. for "Borough." Wm. Peagrin, vicar.

‡ Thos. Byrde to be payd viid. weeklye. J. Morgan iiid. weeklye, out of the towne money. Stowupland—Gyles Keble, Wm. Walker, Ch. Wa. par. officers, Solomon Woodye, Amb. Cotterell, J. Morgan, W. Smyte. W. Brett paid to J. Dammett for a lode and a half of woode iiiis. iiid. for the poore. Accts.

AN HONOURABLE SINGULARITY.

bable? They kept "a booke of the collection for the poore people in the Uplande of Stowe and Stow-market," which was made up to the last day of the year.* Twenty-four persons had weekly sums of money in that parish,† varying from $1d.$ to $xviid.$ in this year. And lists of payers and receivers amounting to 56 (heads of families) in the parish was annually made out.‡ "A booke (single leaf) of the collection for the poore people in the Uplande of Stowe, made the fourth of October, 1597, in the xxxixth of the Queen's majesty raigne that now is, and it is agreed to be paid to the collectors a quarter before hand"— $4l. 12s. 4d.$ in the whole. In 1591, the collectors "gathered for the poor" $4l. 12s. 3d.$ (whereof they praye to be allowed $111l. xv.$ and soe ther remayneth $xviiis. 111d.$ which they have to give accompt hereafter)|| and expended in the Upland $3l. 15s.$ It was an annual tax and came regularly into all the accounts. Sometimes charitable collections were made for other objects and' places, as in 1597, when "they collected for thives at Ipswich" probably confined in jail and wanting the necessaries of life.

"The booke of the collection for the poor people in the Uplande of Stowe made the last daye of December, in the 34 yere of her majesties raigne, 1591."

This (and others) are single sheets of thick yellow paper, with the names of the weekly contributors and the sum they gave; at the head stands John Gardyne, gent. who gave $3d.$ weeklye and others gave only ob. $\frac{1}{2}d.$ —another list follows of "quarter men." These gave sums varying from $4d.$ to $\frac{1}{2}d.$ quarterly instead of weekly—this is succeeded by "the names of the poore to whom the colection ys to be distributed weelie." There are only five weekly pensioners. And the sums vary from widowe Werdall $111d.$ to Anne Berkett $viiiid.$ The weekly payers or more respectable farmers and owners in Stowupland were 19—and the smaller occupiers or quarter men

* 1591.

† For Upland the papers are not legible.

‡ J. Gardyne, esq. paid $3d.$ weeklye, this is the largest rate payer. 1591.

|| Phillip Goddard and Thos. Balle, collectors.

KINDLY FEELINGS.

amounted to 19. This rate was altogether voluntary.* 1597] Lodes of wood were annually given;† and even the clothing of the poore was attended to at this early date.‡ The helpless orphans were boarded by the week.|| Those who could work were looked after and employed, and old persons whose out-door labours were over, obtained assistance by having spinning wheels and cards supplied to them from the parish in their own homes, to assist in earning their bread.§ Manufactures were then a blessing and not a curse to a neighbourhood, for the simple machinery of the hummimg wheel made a cheerful music, by which the aged father as well as his young grand-child could enjoy and gain their coarse yet honest bread at home and at their fire-side. During some of these years (about ten) the ladies of the squires attended the annual meeting of the parishioners in the parishes.¶ The kindly feelings of protection, of sympathy, of affection for the poor, are uniform throughout the whole forty years of voluntary rating.

In 1602 overseers were appointed, the parish rating became larger, the funds increased, and all the items

* 1588] Upland—making 111 lodes of woode for the poor folkes $xviid.$ Paid to Wm. Codd and Alex. Fforgine being constables the sum of $xxviiis. xiiid.$

1587] It was agreed that the collection for the poore people of the Upland of Stowe should "be payd to the collectors a quarter before hand." The rate payers amounted to 44.

The poor pensioners who received aid weeklye were 13, including two families of a man, his wife, and children. The sums varied from $1d.$ to $xviiid.$ It was in some cases actual support as when they obtained $8d.$ per week, but in others as in the case of the families only partial help amounting to $2d.$ per week.

1596] Beden at the buryng of his wife $8d.$ Layd out at Burye at the binding of Beckett $1s.$ Layd out when we wer at the hundred rout $111d.$

1587] A bill of recknynghe that I Edmonde Welles have layde oute for the Uplande of Stowe.

Item layde oute ffor wheate $xx.$

Item layde oute ffor otes $xiiis. viiid.$

Item layde oute to the salte petter $111s.$

Item ther ys oweyng me for olde recknyng $xviiis.$ the some $xxv.$

+ 11 halfe lodes of wood carrynges to the poore folks $xviid.$ Making of 11 lodes of wood $xviid.$ 1588. Acc. Upland.

† A smok clothe for the girl at Woods $xid.$ Upland 1599.

|| Boarde of chylde $xviid.$ the week. Upland 1590.

§ A winding wheele for father Morgan $111s. 111d.$ Upland 1580.

¶ Before J. Brom, esq. Agnes Brom his wife 1597. Before Agnes Gardiner widowe, &c. Upland 1595.

HELPING THE POOR.

of food, weekelye payments, firing, clothes, wheels and cards, rent, and money were multiplied.* In those early times the whole of the town land rents, collections at communions, wood of town land sold, were placed in one sum together, and out of this the money required for the repairs of the church, for clock, chimes, bells, ringers, dinners, were paid. The money gathered for the poor was kept distinct, and the expenditure on the poor parishioners "or poor folks," was entered by itself. They also had houses in which the aged and most impotent people lived rent free, and in them were assisted with wood and a variety of other necessaries.† Some aged persons were then paid *viiid.* and *viiiid.* weekelye to support them, so that about one penny per day was considered with a little help enough for a poor man to live on. This would buy as much flour, or barley, or rye then as *6d.* or *8d.* now. And on this kind of bread the whole of the labouring classes lived at that period.‡ The principal also of removing persons to their own parishes was so far acted on, that orphanless children were taken from places where they became such if their parents were new inmates, and carried to the parishes of their birth.|| This however was only done under the sanction of the magistrates. At this early date also clothing, such as shoes, hose, and every article of dress were bestowed on the necessitous poor. They were watched over in sickness and in health, and when they died, if so destitute as to be indebted to charity for a grave, the collective sympathies of the parishes stepped forth and kindly and decently, with the tolling of "the great bell of Stowe," committed their poor unconscious Christian brother to his final resting place.§ Even in the midst of

* "Money layd out to ye poore pensioners of the Up-
lande 3*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* 1596. Accts. made before J. Browne,
esq. J. Barnwell, gent. J. Garrard, and J. Wright, C. Ws."
In 1598 the rate levied in Upland was 10*l.* 4*s.* *Id.*

† 1584] Robt. Damont and Wm. Wells C. Ws. Upland.
Carynge of a lode of wood to ye armes housesn *viiiid.*

‡ Accts. 1576.

|| 1597] Carynge of a childe by warrante to Earl Ston-
ham *xiid.* W. Wells, J. Hubbard, C. Ws. W. Pegrem,
vicar.

§ C. Baxter in his sicknessse 12' Old Roden at the bury-
all of his wife *viiiid.* &c. 1575. Rent of lande in Upland
£10. J. Wright and W. Tuffell C. Ws. 1584. Accts. given
in before Thomas Biram, vicar.

SUFFOLK BREVIARY.

civil war (1646) and when burdened with unjust taxation, bells were tolled and all the decencies of Christian burial were provided by the parish.

1602] The following wise and beautiful observations are made by Mr. Reyce in his *Breviary of Suffolk*, written for Sir Robert Crane, a Stowmarket gentleman, whose father lived in the town. "It is familiar with the nature of man to weigh benefitts received with feathers of light weights, but in commodities he weigheth with lead and heavy weights, complaining evermore with a long and large report of them; such is the corrupt and froward judgment of many in these days, who esteem the multitude of our poore more to be a matter of heavy burden and a sore discommoditie, thinking that as noe grief is greater than their own, soe noe incommoditie to be greater than that which is where they dwell. But if such did remember that as well the poor as the rich proceed from the Lord, *and that the rich cannot stand without the poore*, or if they did see how far the number of the poore in other shires doe exceed ours, they would not esteem of our poore as a burden, but as a looking glasse wherein the rich may see his own estate, if once the Lord did bereave him of his benefits which he doth daily abuse. God in all ages and in all places has appointed the poore to be as the trials of the rich, and the humble thoughts which smoake from a poor man's cottage are as sweet a sacrifice unto the Lord, as the costly perfumes of the prince's palace."*

In 1606 the Overseers accounts of their expenditure for the poor commence, and henceforward the whole of the arrangements are made under the superintendance of the acts of Elizabeth.† Two Overseers were appointed in each parish to collect the rate and distribute the money. But for ten years the four Overseers of these parishes acted together. Separate accounts were afterwards kept and have

* *Harl. Lib.* p. 30, *Suffolk Breviary in M.S.*

† Overseers account of what they paid to the Borrowes of Stowmarket, and to ye poore of Upland 18 April 1606, signed, examined, and allowed by Ed. Poley, T. Remp, J. G. Hert, E. Tyrell, 1613. Overseers accounts are signed and allowed by Sir John Pooley, kt. who paid 3*d.* weeklye to the rates. Doctor Pooley, &c.

FIRST OVERSEES.

been continued to the present day.* The practice of making the reputed father of illegitimate children pay a sum of money into the hands of the parish for their apprenticeship to a trade from 1565 to 1601 occurred here.† The coroner was paid by the parish when an inquest was held on any body.‡ Payments by the Overseers in 1630 began to be made to "poor persons who travelled, and to all those persons who carried a passe or license from the magistrates to travel and be relieved."||

The system of apprenticing poor children by the parish began very early and was of the same date with the commencement of collections for the poor. In the year 1595 there is a record of such an apprenticeship at Bury of an orphan by the Churchwardens.§ Illegitimate children were ordered to be kept by the justices at the charge of the parish, and *xxvii.* and *vjd.* was paid for the keep of a small child for a year.¶ In 1592 on the 15th Oct. a regular deed of apprenticeship was made here in the following terms.

R. Wordy is bound aged 12, with St. Keble, husbandman until R. W. is 24 years of age, to be instructed and trayned in the skill of husbandry—he is bound to keep in tyme of sicknesse if it shall please God to lay such visitation upon him, as well as in tyme of health—also in meat, drink, and apparel—for laboring days and the Saboth two shirts, two duabelts, two coates or jerkins, two poyer of britches, two poyer of stockings, two hattes or cappes, two poyer of shoes, and twentye shillings, unless there was fault at the ende of his time, and then the two justices were to determine what part of the 20s. he was to have. Edmd. Poley, esq. T. Tyrell, esq.

* 1600] Upland. When a compulsory rate begins. 1618 Sir J. Poley, kt. J. Goodwyne and Calthrop Parker, esqrs. † 1638] Accts. on this occasion £15 paid by the illegitimate father to the parish lay in their hands. In the mean time the mother married, the child died, and they then paid the money to the man who had married the woman. Upland. J. Keble of Dego, J. Boregate C. Ws.

‡ 1659] Towards the coroner coming to view the body of Francis Ffosset 0l. 7s. 0d.

|| To a poore clargyman which had an order to be removed 0 : 0 : 6—a man and wife and six children which had an order to travel and be relieved by C. W. 0 : 1 : 0 The items are now and for some years before kept in distinct classes by themselves, as the above; then W. Enifer sweeping the walls of the church 0 : 2 : 0; then the rayle causey after the great raine 0 : 2 : 0; gravel for church paths 0 : 5 : 0. J. Parker and Rob. Ryward C. Ws. Upland 1686. Sacramental wine—a new surplice, &c. W. Bowgate, Rob. Boby, C. Ws. 1687. Upland.

§ Vide papers of this date. C. W.

|| Wm. Cottingham and Thomas Goddard, constables 1591.

TRADES.

Before this period however and previous to the powers conferred on the parish officers by the celebrated poor law act of 1601, they had managed to provide for poor children and bind them out as apprentices. In 1574 there is a *bond* from J. Allan of Gipping to the Churchwardens of Upland, declaring he would take care of one L. Gylee for *vii* years for £3 : 0 : 0, &c. and "priwide" him with apparel, meat, and drink, and teach him his mystery as a yeoman.

From 1592 the apprentice deeds are found in regular succession in almost similar terms, and all the various trades in the county are specified in the Town and in different places, whilst the signatures of lords, baronets, knights, esquires, and clergymen are attached to them from the surrounding parishes.* The trades are glovers, husbandmen, yeomen, tailors, bricklayers, "the arte of good howsywyre after the best manner 1629," worsted weaving, (*N. Garneham of Old Newton worsted weaver 1659, he was allowed to correct his prentice's offences in a charitable manner,*) woolen weaving and clothiers, (*in Battisford 1644,*) blacksmiths, wool combers, twisterers, (*at Ipswich 1682,*) tallow chandlers, coopers, cloath weavers, (*J. Abbott of Earl Stonham 1654,*) say weavers, pouldarrie weavers, (*R. Cooke at Clayden 1636,*) carpenters, gardeners, (*for forty years the gardeners of Colchester had quite a passion for Stowmarket apprentices A.D. 1723, the numbers are quite curious,*) flet makers, musitioner, (*E. Blome 1645,*) basket maker, (*1719 S. Stephens,*) cordwaynars, gentlemen, (*1631 R. Mofham of Onehouse, an expensive trade!*) cloth workers, butchers, (*Rob. Oakes J. P. signs as witnessing magistrate 1638,*) say weavers, (*1729 silk weavers from the old artillery ground, London,*) nife makers, woolen weaver, (*Ralph Abbot, Fisboro 1636,*) malsters, throwsterers, woasted weavers, (*R. Pilbrow, Rattlesden, 1698,*) collier makers, (*S. Frewer, 1716,*) bakers, cordwinder, paper makers, (*Bramford 1699,*) masons, tanners, (*T. Clarke of Icworth, 1716,*) glasyers, (*Eleazer Kifler, 1625,*) millers, mari-

* Amongst these autographs are some celebrated names—N. Bacon, bart. F. Bacon, Ld. Verulam, Sir J. Poley, Tyrells for the whole period, A. Young the great agriculturist, &c. &c.

DOCTOR'S BILL.

ners, (*from St. Clement's, Ipswich,*) clothiers, (*S. Boston, of Creteing St. Mary, 1658,*) sack makers, (*T. Doe, 1659,*) bottle makers, 1660, inn houlders, curriers, spinsters, (*Magdalene Pendinge 1662, to teach her mystery and craft!*) chair makers, linen weavers, (*R. Elington, of the Uplande of Stow, 1650,*) worsted weavers, (very common in the town for 200 years,) tobacco pipe makers, (*F. Adams 1718,*) wheelwrights, slaughtermen, cutlers, (*F. Fryare and Ursula his wife 1606,*) falmongers, (*J. Smyth of Upland 1729,*) fishmongers, thatchers, bay weavers, (*S. Sayer, of Whatfield 1680.*)

The short and sad memorials of many a poor man's life may be told in the few words of the following history.

	£.	s.	d.
1678] June 12, bleeding Hen. Sarnett	0	0	6
" Henry Sarnett in sickness	0	0	6
June 13, for laying forthe Henry Sarnett	0	1	0
To Goodie Sarnett to help her	0	2	6
June 15, to J. Cowle for a coffin for Hen. } 0 5 0	0	5	0
Sarnett - - - - }	0	5	0
5 yards and $\frac{1}{4}$ of cloth for a shete	0	2	7
June 17, to minister, clarke, and sexton } 0 2 4	0	2	4
for burying Sarnett - - - - }	0	2	4
June 19, to Widow Sarnett to help her	0	0	12
July 12, to horse and man to carry } 0 3 6	0	3	6
widow Sarnett to Silem - - - - }	0	3	6

This is all! he lies here in his grave, unmarked, unknown, yet is it enough if he died a Christian.

Here is a similar short and simple annal, amongst many, of a strange child, whom no one knew, nor from whence it came, it having wandered into the town.

	£.	s.	d.
1716] For the child that died—for a coffin	0	3	0
Minister, clarke, and sexton	0	2	4
Winding it - - - -	0	1	0
Laying the childe forthe - - - -	0	1	0
For beere at it (it was so diseased)	0	1	3
For an affidavit - - - -	0	0	6
Mr. Aldrich for physick - - - -	0	0	8

And so it lived and died, a wanderer without an earthly name. Now is there not something peculiarly delightful in these homely memorials of parish assistance to these poor creatures, when we remember that such was England's care for her poor over the whole land? And that great as she has been in the triumph of her arms on the ocean and in the furthest parts of the earth, her systematic victory

DUTY TO THE POOR.

over man's natural selfishness at home has been as uniformly great in her care for the poor. For though no statute law existed before the reign of Mary, yet by the Church the most abundant, the most kind, the most affectionate aid was administered to the poor in every parish, and for miles around every monastery. It may be said that such weekly details made by law deprived the act of all the beauty of Christian charity, and that it was a cold, repulsive, heartless task, which certain officials accomplished, and which the poor were degraded in receiving. But this is not the question. It is one of principle. The rectitude, and all the beauty of the act was in the making of the law, and these acts however administered were preachers in each parish, and still speak of religion and of the Saviour, of God and of the neighbourly care each Christian man ought to have for his poor brother. When they paid women to set up with the corpse of even "a poor travelling woman" who took sick in the town and died, lest the common decency of attention to the dead should be violated, there was something more than mere obedience to the statute accomplished by the law, and a respect for invisible things was fostered and preserved.* After the plague of small pox in 1690 "the sick house" makes its appearance, and serious expenses were annually incurred for medicine, restoratives, food, clothing, bedding, and a great variety of articles required by the doctors, nurses, and patients in the house. Butter was bought by the firkin and by the pint,† peas, wheat, oatmeal, sugar, rye, veal, beef, suet, cheese, beans, coals,‡ candles, wine, (sack and claret,) tobacco, and strong beer to the nurses and helps. On an average each sick person cost the parishioners £2 : 0 : 0 in their small pox sickness, whether they died or lived.|| "Beer for the nusses" was a very common item and not the least expense. Then we have "milk and piga, sitting up at nights, watching

* Accts. 1726. She cost the parish altogether for doctor, parson, and buriall 21. 0s. 0d.

† 1720] A firkin of butter 11. 5s. 0d. 1726, three pints of butter 1s. 4*1/4*d.—three ditto 1s. 6d.—two lb. soap 1s.

‡ They began to appear in 1727—5 quarters and carriage (from Ipswich?) 1l. 16s. 10*1/4*d.

|| Thos. Beast overseer—candles 7*d.* per lb. 1717.

DUTY TO THE POOR.

corsets, candles to watch by, coffins, bearers, shrouds, woollen by the act, the bell, the sexton, the minister, the last sheets, the grave, and breaking the ground"—dull and dreary as the items seem yet they sparkle with hope, faith, and charity.*

1715] About this period began one of those abuses of the poor law which rendered it repulsive to the religious feelings of the country, and produced many immoral consequences. The overseers now commenced marrying couples who acknowledged themselves guilty of fornication. This was I believe very soon a universal practice. In this parish the guilty persons were generally females. The expenses varied from £1 : 5 : 0 to £2 : 4 : 5, for it was not always effected by banns, but sometimes licensees were procured when the emergency was great;† But such a practice was indefensible, immoral, and unjust. It degraded the poor and held out a reward to vice, whilst the rate payers were compelled too often to provide a marriage feast for those who deserved punishment for their wanton imprudence.

Although this part of our history is a homely one, and the sicknesses, wants, and cottages of the poor may be subjects from which refined wealth most willingly turns aside, yet there is a kindly warmth; a wholesome religious and deep moral lesson in all such details, which cannot too often remind us of the duty and care we owe to the poor. For almost 300 years these duties have devolved upon the laity generally, but before that period they were borne almost exclusively by the clerical and monastic orders in the Church. She has however been deprived of her power thus to assist the poor by such vast estates having been torn from the clergy at the Reformation. The lay part of the church, all holders of property, have this solemn duty imposed on them, and there can be no religion amongst those who neglect it or

* 1734] Beef 2½d. per lb.—wheat 16s. a comb—coals a chaldron and quarter 37s.—a pt. of sack 1s.—mutton 3d. per lb.

† 1715] A lysense and marriage for M. Godwin 11. 7s. 0d. a hat for her husband 0l. 2s. 6d.—expenses eating and drinking 0l. 7s. 3d.—more expenses eating and drinking 0l. 7s. 8d. Accts. This seems to have been an expensive case.

FIRST PURITANS.

who harden themselves against the distresses of the poor man. Poverty is not a crime but a divine dispensation, and it is to be alleviated as a trial by those who have property and can diminish its sufferings, whilst it is to be borne patiently by those who are its subjects.

SOME ACCOUNT OF LECTURESHIPS IN GENERAL,
AND THE LECTURE IN STOWMARKET,
1582 TO 1842.

The cruelties of Mary and a small number of the Romish Bishops had excited so much detestation against the Papal Church in many Protestants, that a design seems to have been laid in the earliest years of Elizabeth's reign by certain clergymen of the Church of England to alter her ancient form of government and service. Their hatred of Rome could not tolerate Episcopacy in any form, because Bishops had been active agents of Mary's popish government in burning Protestants. They were misled by their intolerance of Rome into a zealous intolerance of the least restraint on private judgment. Presbyterianism was then struggling from its cradle in Geneva, with its narrow Calvinistic views, its extempore public prayers, and the encouragement it gave to personal independence and party spirit, and seemed to be the only religion with their notions best adapted to oppose and banish Romish doctrine from the kingdom. These men could not, or were obstinately determined not to distinguish between the Catholic antiquity of the Primitive ages, and the Romish Catholicity of the later centuries. The great revolution in mind which had led to the Reformation naturally produced many extravagant opinions. Amongst them were those of the first English Puritans who worshipped the unlimited authority of private judgment, and sought to establish a new form of church government and become the Apostles of that Reformation which they wished to be carried on exclusively by themselves. Hence arose those long, bitter, and obstinate contests with the statute law by individual clergymen which have been called the persecutions of the Puritans, whereas in truth the issue

THEIR OBJECTS.

was between themselves the breakers of the law, and the law in its officers. To petition was their right, but when they openly resisted, they could only be openly condemned. How these men could satisfy their consciences to remain within the church, and eat her bread, and yet attempt to overthrow her existence, and refuse conformity to her services, is a most difficult question to answer without suspecting the integrity of their characters. In all the harassing contests with the Episcopal discipline and services of our church, in which this party was engaged during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, Suffolk was a great if not the greatest offender. So early as 1582, Mr. Knewstubs of *Cockfield* held secret meetings of "the brethren," as they dubbed themselves, at his house. In these they arranged their plans, determined their "platform of discipline," and provided rules and regulations for themselves as a Presbyterian church. Their great aim was to harass the government and bishops into an alteration and final abandonment of the Common Prayer Book. Their next step was to remove the bishops and establish Presbyterian government. Their classes, synods, and general assemblies were all arranged. By these clerical meetings in which these subjects were discussed, the hopes of the lukewarm were excited, the wavering reassured, the bigots and leaders of the party strengthened, and some idea may be formed of their power when at this first meeting in Cockfield, 60 ministers from Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire attended, although they incurred much legal danger if the object had been discovered at the time. This party consisted of the doctrinal enemies to those moderate and Catholic views upon Calvinistic subjects, maintained by the reformed Episcopal Church of England. They entered her walls, enjoyed her livings, and employed her services with a fixed purpose to undermine her authority amongst the people, and reform her reformation by destroying her integrity as a branch of the visible Apostolic Catholic Church. How this could be justified unless she had been the sink of Rome itself it is difficult to determine. These are the facts, and those who uphold the improper methods taken by

THEIR CHARACTER.

such men must feel the task distressing if they are candid, and if they were dishonest it is not easy to accomplish a fair ground for their justification. The proceedings of "the godly ministers" in their con-claves and parties, at length brought about in union with political relations the great rebellion, the downfall of the church in her state connections, her captivity for twenty years, the murder of the king, and then justice was meted out against "the violent man" in the Restoration.

The first Presbyterian meeting house, and the first chapel of dissenters in England was formed at Wandsworth in Surrey, in the year 1571. Thus Dissent has scarcely passed the infancy of its religious existence. Will it outlive its childhood.?* The independent meeting in this town is of a far later date, although this is the oldest and no such place was known here until about 1740.†

Meetings of clergymen for the exposition of the scriptures and mutual improvement began in Elizabeth's reign, and were general throughout the country. They were often termed prophesying, and in some cases the laity appear to have taken part in their proceedings. This diocese obtained the unenviable notoriety of encouraging more prophesying than any other in the kingdom. Many of the bishops and clergy disapproved of these meetings, as tending to foster a fanatical conceited spirit. They were suppressed in many places. But out of them originated *weekly lectures* in the churches, which were generally supplied by the neighbouring ministers, until having been established for many years, pious persons endowed them, and they then became a permanent part of the parochial ordinances in towns and large villages. The lecturers were a new body unknown to the Church of England before the reign of King James. They generally caused the incumbent to regret their appointment, because they managed to make him unpopular with the parishioners and undervalued his preaching. They were men of loose, crude, and undigested church principles,

* *Collier* v. 2, b. 6.

† See chap. on Nonconformists in Stowmarket.

FIRST PRESBYTERIANS.

"ungrounded divines," and became the great promoters of the Presbyterian discipline, the breaking up of the Church of England, and the downfall of monarchy.*

Such is the origin of the weekly lecture in Stowmarket. The town has been the centre of a religious neighbourhood for many centuries. The lecture was commenced some years before 1628. This is discoverable in the will of Mr. Robt. Aggas of this date. For there he says, "whereas there hath been a good and godly lecture and exercise of preaching of the word of God of late held and used at Stowmarket aforesaid on the usual market day whereat I have been present to my comfort and benefit of my faith for which I praise my good God, towards the maintenance of which said exercise by some weekly sums of money" he desired to contribute—thereupon leaving a sum which was then laid out by the feoffees and has been from that period paid to the vicar "in the sum of twelve pence weekly being two and fifty shillings to the year."†

1640.] Dr. Young, the vicar being one of the great leaders against the Episcopacy, the arbitrary proceedings of the Star Chamber and Ecclesiastical Courts, the weekly lecture as a favorite part of the parochial discipline of the Presbyterian clergy was not likely to be neglected by him. It had not however at an early period received the Bishop's sanction, nor could it be maintained then unless this useful and necessary authority approved its existence. The parishioners therefore at the visitation (1634) made an application to the bishop for its confirmation, and so far from opposing, it was immediately granted by his Lordship. It is the fashion with some puritanical writers to represent the bishops at this time as opposed to all spiritual exercises, arbitrary, tyrannical, and mere formalists in religion. But this is a gross perversion of the truth of history, and in this instance so

FIRST LECTURE.

far from resisting the establishment of a weekly lecture supplied by different ministers, the Bishop of Norwich consented to, and confirmed it.*

The lecturers were very frequently established by the enemies of the church to introduce novelties, and get rid of the prayer book. Lecturers were appointed in some places to turn the church into a conventicle. For the liturgy on lecture days was laid aside altogether, extempore prayer was made, and the clergy preached without gown or surplice. The doctrine was generally the highest points of Calvinism—and the decrees of God; whilst the benefit resulting from quiet ordinances was ridiculed, and all religion and salvation itself made to depend on mere preaching and the excitement of novelty.

These innovations were rightly suppressed by the bishops. The liturgy was strictly enforced. No new lecture could be established without the license of the bishop, and thus in our town the leave and license of the diocesan was obtained for its observance.†

About the same time a lecture was established at Levensham and "the neighbouring ministers upon each market day weekly, which was each Tuesday, the season of harvest onlie excepted" expounded and dogmatized.‡

From this year until 1641 there is no farther notice of its existence, but at this last date begin a series of curious papers in the hand of Mr. John Heyward, an inhabitant "of the towne," connected exclusively with its management, and continued at intervals to the year 1661. This period of twenty years is one of the most important, interesting, and melancholy in our national history. At its commencement the famous long parliament began those acts which ended in the overthrow of the Episcopal Church establishment, and the introduction of the hypocritical equalities of Presbyterian republicanism in church and state. During this term of years, the

* Fuller 1623. Dr. Hacket however in his speech at the bar of the House of Commons in 1641 in defence of cathedrals asserts that a weekly lecturer was a part of the cathedral establishment.

+ Vicar's old book of charity papers in author's hands, 79. The market day was Thursday as it is now.

* Churchwardens accounts 1634. In which are various items in sweeping and cleaning the church, securing flagnons, &c. on "the bishop's coming." Parish chest.

† Collier 2, 781. C. W's accounts, &c.

‡ Sir S. D'Ewes's Journal, Hart. Lib. 651.

CHARITABLE COLLECTIONS.

civil war ravaged one half of the kingdom, and the six eastern counties groaned under a load of taxation. Our town had to contribute largely by two monthly payments to the support of the parliamentary armies, to the war in Ireland, to General Fairfax's army, to garrisons at Newport Pagnel and other places, "to alarums at Colchester." The townsmen were called on for their proportion of soldiers, and some of the more fanatical people themselves volunteered into the armies. We had to pay for maimed and wounded soldiers, and reaped nothing by the war but poverty, discontent, and a general decay of trade and employment. In the years 1648 and 1649 the distress had become so great that Mr. Heyward collected money to distribute rye to the poor, who were without employment, and in starvation.

These calamities were succeeded by the establishment of Oliver Cromwell after the murder of the King, and a gloomy reign of tyranny in one person without a parliament which at length recovered the nation from its derangement, and prepared the way for the peaceable restoration of Charles the Second in the year 1660 to the throne of his ancestors, the downfall of the Independents, Presbyterians, and scores of fanatical sects, with the re-establishment of the tolerant and truly spiritual Church of England.

During this long and eventful period, the collections for the lecture and its "disbursements" were managed exclusively by Mr. Heyward. He appears to have been one of those quiet, devout, practical Christians, whose good works are recorded in eternity, but whose earthly usefulness is rarely ever known beyond his own parish and generation. He seems to have been a draper, and perhaps a woollen cloth manufacturer in the town.

The lecture was supported by a rate made upon the parish of Stowmarket, for the Upland does not appear to have taken any general part in it, and was gathered quarterly by Mr. H. "The lectur" was supplied by the ministers of the surrounding neighbourhood. And the money is expended in giving them a dinner with wine and abundance of good things, at one of the Inns in the town. In each of this excellent man's accounts for the year there is

LECTURE HOW SUPPORTED.

the list of the rate payers; the name of the minister who preached and the date of the day; the number of dinners; and the names of the Innkeepers, with a dr. and cr. statement of the whole of the money. In those years when the rate thus laid was insufficient, the balance was paid by the churchwardens out of their accounts to Mr. Heyward, as in 1648 (a year of great distress) and 1662.* But there does not appear to have been any sum paid to the ministers for their sermons. On their part it was a voluntary offering of their best efforts for the town and neighbourhood, without fee or stipend, the town's people agreeing to defray all the expenses connected with their coming to the parish for that day, and providing them with refreshment. Such a plan conducted for more than twenty years is a singular testimony to the religious intelligence of the town. At Bury a lecture on a similar plan was established, and became endowed with a sum of money which is paid to each clergyman who officiates on the week day.

In the year 1641 the Lady Poley resided in the parish, and stands at the head of Mr. Heyward's list of lecture rate payers, she was either the widow or mother of Sir J. Poley a high sheriff of the county in a former year, but it is likely had been his wife, because in some of the army rate papers of this period, her daughters Mra. Ursula Poley and Mrs. Elizabeth are set down and rated for the goods which they possessed. Their furniture, plate, jewels, and clothes must have been large, when we find these single ladies estimated as possessing £200 and £150 of this kind of property.

The dinners were contracted for at 3s. 4d. per week, and four of the ministers present were invited to enjoy the good cheer. But on the 24th Nov. 1641, Mr. Heyward reports that he paid for two dinners more than the stipulated number because of there "beinge abundance of ministers when Mr. Newcomen preached, and a quart of wine they sent for." Fires were also provided during the winter months, "being nineteen weeks at 2d. per fire per week." Goodman Wayman, (sexton) and goodman Keble (clark†) also

* Churchwardens' Accounts, Parish Chest.
† J. H's. paper 1642.

LECTURE DINNERS.

were paid 2*d.* per week for the same number of weeks for attendance and care taken for the ministers. The whole rate, "gathered quarterly" amounted in the year to 8*l.* 17*s.* and there was "disbursed in all" 8*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* leaving a balance "in the hand of John Heyward at this reconinge day being 13th day of April 1642—11*s.* 5*d.*"*

The names of the ministers who preached in this yeare are:—

Mr. Sotheby	20 May	Mr. Nicholl	21 Oct.
— Springe	27 "	— Warren	28 "
— Jacob	3 June	— Swayne	4 Nov.
— Ward	10 "	— Morgan	11 "
— Devoreux	17 "	— Stansby	18 "
— Penn	24 "	— Newcomen	25 "
— Symonds	2 July	— Rand	2 Dec.
— Wragg	8 "	— Younge	9 "
— Andrews	15 "	— Eade	16 "
— Carr	22 "	— Southeby	18 Jan.
— Raye	29 "	— Jacob	27 "
— Catlin	5 Aug.	— Devoreux	3 Feb.
— Fenton	12 "	— Pen	10 "
— Raymont	19 "	— Symonde	16 "
— Hudson	26 "	— Wragg	24 "
— Clerke	2 Sep.	— Ward	3 Mar.
— Holbrough	9 "	— Morgan	10 "
— Ashley	16 "	— Carr	17 "
— Candler	23 "	— Stansby	24 "
— Colson	30 "	— Younge	31 "
— Carter	7 Oct.	— Catlin	7 Ap.
— Devoreux, jun.	14 "		

They were all incumbents or curates of parishes, and nominally members of the established church. But some of them were sadly imbued with Presbyterian notions and impossibilities. At Ipswich (1636) there were many heats and much division. One Ward had preached openly in the Church against the prayer book, and the whole county was infected with crude notions.† This man was one of the lecturers at Stowmarket in 1641 for several years in his turn on the Market-day, and the names of some of the celebrated leaders of the rebellious party may be found in the lists.‡ In 1636 he was censured for his violence and refused his license as lecturer. On this he persuaded his congregation to refuse all others. Ward was to them the whole gospel and no one preached the gospel but him. Two of the

LECTURERS.

authors of *Smectymnuus*, a famous pamphlet against the bishops are in this catalogue, namely Mr. Younge, the vicar, and Mr. Newcomen, whose preaching attracted such a large assemblage of ministers and hearers. Some of these good but erring men lived long enough to deplore the part they had taken in bringing upon the nation the succeeding calamities. From expressions used by these Clergymen in some letters which they wrote, and other incidental notices, I am disposed to think that Dr. Young was one of these, and when it was too late he perceived that the rejection of Episcopacy was the admission of religious licentiousness into the Church.*

The names of some other ministers appear in 1642—Mr. Browning, Mr. Clerk, Mr. Mincham, Mr. Smith. In 1643, on the 10th of Aug. Mr. Bond, Mr. Ray and Mr. Catlin all preached on the same day, which was one of those numerous thanksgivings or fasts, appointed by the parliament to excite hostile feelings and hatred against the king and the bishops. Mr. Raymont and Mr. Blackwell are new ministers in this year's paper. Heyward also laid out 2*s.* "for a horse for a minister at the fast."

In 1644 the names of the ministers are not enumerated. The parish clerk (Keble) was employed in each year to write out catalogues for the ministers. In them the day of preaching and name of the person was inserted, and these were sent to the lecturers, so that the whole neighbourhood knew who would ascend the pulpit on every market-day. The clarke was paid 11*d.* for the labour of writing 63 such catalogues, and Mr. Heyward had also to expend in this year 2*s.* 6*d.* for "a horse for Mr. Smart for 2 dayes when he came to preach to supply at a want."

The Lady Poleye does not appear in the rate as a contributor, and she must therefore either have left the towne, or for some unexplained reason had declined to contribute to its support. For in these collections, the rate appears to have been made annually by certain persons in the towne levying it on themselves, but not by all the townsmen. I shall give the names of those who paid in the year 1641, and they are continued with occasional changes by

* J. Heyward's lecture papers in parish chest and parish record book.

† Collier 2. fol.

‡ As Newcomen, Younge, Ward, &c.

* See chapter on Milton and Dr. Young.

CONTRIBUTORS.

death or other causes throughout these twenty years. The ministers names are mentioned with regularity for only four years, but their attendance was continued without intermission till the restoration in 1660.

"Names of contributors to the rate for the lector collected quarterly by John Heyward in 1641, living then in Stowmarket:—"

	s. d.		s. d.
The Lady Poleye	10 0	Rich. Osborne	3 0
Mr. Keeble	10 0	Francis Ralff	2 0
Mr. Flicke	4 0	Willian Scrutton	2 0
Mr. Manninge	5 0	John Sherman	2 0
Mr. Brazier, sen.	6 0	Henry Boule	2 0
Mr. Brazier, jun.	4 0	Henry Bush	1 0
Mr. Barnes	4 0	John Hubbard of Hil.	2 0
Mr. Scarlett	4 0	Thos. Miller of Chilton	2 0
Mr. Williams	4 0	Wm. Scocmear	2 0
Thomas Clouer	4 0	Thos. Bird	3 0
John Shinn	4 0	William Flint	2 0
George Anger	4 0	John Smith	1 4
Richard Riuet	4 0	Samuel Sare	2 0
George Morden	4 0	Rich. Abbot	2 0
Philemon Dixon	2 0	Thos. Vincent	2 0
William Garrard	6 0	Thos. Horrold	3 0
John Heyward	6 0	John Wright	2 0
John Dray	5 0	John Garnham	2 0
John Cocke	3 0	Thos. Osborne	1 4
Israell Barrell	3 0	Anty. Darkin	0 8
William Clouer	3 0	Robt. Wright	1 4
William Wade	3 0	Rob. Heyward	2 0
Mr. Goodwin	3 0	Jos. Rivers	2 0
Thomas Scape	3 0	John Garnham, clothyer	4 0
William Goodall	2 0	Edwd. Carver	2 0
Alice Vincent (vid.)	2 0	J. Garnham of Upland	4 0
John Woode	4 0	John Clouer	1 0
John Booth, sen.	2 0	Thos. Scochmear	1 4
Rich. Langham	2 0		

In all 81. 17s. 0d.; if money be calculated as then worth three times its present value, in our currency the sum raised will be about 261. annually, or 10s. for each lecture. The names of the gentry are distinguished in this list by the affix of Mr. The tradesmen and people in business have their christian names attached. At this period no dissenters of any class existed. The earliest dissenting chapel and congregation is of a later day and arose out of the act of uniformity in 1662.* All then were of one mind in external worship, and these happy times in which human salvation was effected as largely (we presume to believe) by our blessed Creator by the gospel in the church, as it is since the multiplication of so many sects, teach us, that a variety of

* About the year 1740.

CHARITY.

forms of worship is unnecessary, and tends in its excess to encourage infidelity. The population of the town and upland was then about 2,000 persons, of which number 200 lived in Stowupland.*

In the year 1649 the weekly sum for the dinner rose to 4s. The times were bad, provisions dear, and distress affected the town and country. He was also obliged to pay 2s. "for writing 40 catalogues," to Keble the clarke, because provisions had risen in price. In the preceding year Mr. Heyward collected money for a load of rye and distributed it to 146 families consisting of 518 individuals in the towne. The lagest contributors are Mr. Tuke, Mr. J. Keable, Mr. Young, (vicar) Mr. G. Morden, (ch. warden.) The towne had decayed in the seven preceding years, and many of the gentry had either left it or were dead. The inhabitants of Gipping contributed 31. 12s. 0d. and the general account, rye being then dear, stands thus:—

	£. s. d.
Recd. of the inhabitants of Gippinge of the general inhabitants of Stowmarket	3 12 0 7 5 6
	10 17 6
Laid out to Mr. Tirrell's clark† for writing of ii warrants	0 5 0
Laid out July 10th 1648, to Mr. Wright for a loade of rye	10 0 0
Laid out 15th July 1648, to J. Sherman for fetchinge it from Ipswich	0 10 0
Laid out to J. Shearnor for grinding the loade of rye beside overplus rye wh was 1½ bus.	0 2 6
	10 17 6

The price of the quarter of wheat of 9 bushels, was in this year 4l. 5s. 0d. being more than 10s. 6d. a bushel in the Windsor markets.‡ But the price here had not risen to such a starvation point, if rye be estimated at one-third below the price of wheat. This grain was then the common food of the labouring classes. Wheaten bread belonged only to the tables of better ranks. The scarcity was great and they required a warrant from the magistrates to be able to buy it, as in all probability the government had laid some

* J. H's. paper for distributing rye, A.D. 1648, in parish record book, No. 22.

† Mr. Tirrell was a Solicitor.

‡ Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, b. 1, 402.

DIFFICULTIES.

restrictions on the sale of corn. A miserable way of protecting agriculture and still more wretched times. But what else could be expected from civil war? Yet is it a pleasure and honourable to the Christian charity of the town, thus to contemplate the actions of a good man endeavouring to diminish the suffering privations of his neighbours.

In 1650 the collections for the lecture had fallen off much, and the expensens were so increased that a debt of 4l. 12s. 4d. remained due from the town to Mr. Heyward. They had always provided (acct. 1651) "for dinners for ministers," the vicar probably being always one of them, but a balance still remained of 2l. 7s. 4d. due to him. This however excited a desire on the part of some of the parishes in the Hundred to aid in this work, and Israel Barrell collected in Combes and other villages voluntarily 15s. 10d., whilst Dr. Young the vicar contributed to diminish the debt 5s. But the next year 1652 J. Barrell discharged the whole balance of 2l. 15s. 0d. himself. This year must have been peculiarly cold, as there were 26 fires provided for the ministers. The price of faggots was then 3d., but 2d. was charged for the fire they consumed. In 1653 J. Barrell again came forward and discharged the debt. In the year 1655 Mr. J. Cocke supplied the deficiency. In the next year the ch. warden Mr. R. Reuet paid the balance 1l. 13s. 8d. which Mr. Heyward's collection would not meet. This also was done in the following years so that the lecture was still maintained by a change of ministers each day.

As the prayer book had been abolished by the absurd crudities of the Presbyterians and Independants, four ministers it is likely officiated in praying, giving out psalms, reading, and preaching on these occasions.

With the close of 16th April, 1661, the interesting papers of this good man J. Heyward terminate. The king had now obtained "his own again," and the country with our town had recovered its loyalty, whilst the gloomy faction which had so long oppressed the nation was overthrown, and the great majority composed of the peaceful industrious and wealthy inhabitants obtained their liberty of speech

VICARS.

and action. Stowmarket began once more to flourish. In the beginning of the troubles Lady Pooleys and the gentry forsook the town; at this date, the gentlemen began to return.*

In the year 1662, Mr. Blackerby the nephew of High Sheriff Blackerby who lived at Chilton house in Tavern street was vicar. He succeeded to Mr. J. Storer who on the death of Dr. Young in 1655 had been instituted to the living in the confusions attending Oliver's death, and the interval between that event and Charles the Second's restoration. He vacated the living on the passing of the act of uniformity.† A Mr. Huxley in 1660 was presented by Mr. Howe, to the living of Stow St. Peter, but there was much confusion in the livings at the time.‡ Great rejoicings took place "on Mr. Blakaby's entering upon the vikridge and church." The churchwardens drank sack, the ringers were paid, "green rushes" were cut and strewn in the church and road to make all clean and prepare for the bishop's reception. His lordship appears to have come and put Mr. B. himself into possession of a sadly dilapidated church and parsonage. Hay was provided by the churchwardens for his horses, and the town was a scene of festivity and satisfaction. Mr. High Sheriff Blackerby was a man of large property and patron of the living. It was partly in compliment to him, and partly from the town being the usual place of assemblage for the county, that the bishop thought it politic on the change in the government thus himself to institute Mr. B.'s nephew into the living.

The lecture was still continued, but required a new confirmation from the bishop. The vicar in person applied for this needful authority. "Mr. Barrell ch. wn. paid to Mr. Blackerby our minister to goe to Norwich to the ceassions for to get our lecter—his charges 2l. 0s. 0d."|| But the assemblage of ministers and the regular change of preachers was then discontinued.

* In the year 1659 W. Browns and Jos. Crane, *Esquires*. were living in the towne.

† *Memoir of J. Meadows*, p. 63. ‡ *Norwich Registers*.

|| *Churchwardens' accounts 1663, parish chest*.

VICARS.

In 1695 Mr. High Sheriff Blackerby died, and left by his will twelve pence to be paid by the senior cb. wn. on each week-day in which a lecture is preached "in the parish church to the minister who shall be of the Reformed Protestant Religion."

From that period till the present time the weekly lecture has been continued with few interruptions by the resident clergyman of Stowmarket, but it is much to be regretted that some more extensive annual provision was not made for the same duty to be supplied by the vicar and neighbouring clergy.†

* Vicarage old book of papers in my hands.
† The whole sum is only £5 per annum.

The Lecture was delivered from A.D. 1690 to 1700 in the morning, before the market commenced, in order that farmers and other persons might attend. From 1700 to 1820, it was changed and held on Wednesday morning and prayers were offered on each Friday in the year. But of late a service with prayers and lecture has been held in the evening of some day in each week at the discretion of the Incumbent.

PAYMENTS, PRICES, ETC.

1480] So early as this date, payments were made to the poor out of estates left to the parishes as charitable bequests.

1566] "There was due £1. III. viid. to Frances Cod for old dettes from the parish." He had managed their affairs whilst things were confused and they now levied a rate on themselves to repay him. Some of this money had been laid out on the poor.

1570] Small payments to widdowe Dowe, mother Dowe, Baldry, Gyles Wells, &c. of iiid. iiiid. iiiiid. and xiid. Also beryinge the widow Wardall xviiid.—men for bringing of her to church iiid.

1576] Those persons who required weekly aid were examined at the annual reckoning day, and the pension they were to receive weekly during the year was then determined. Two poor persons were thus ordered to be paid viid. and ijd. weekly by the Ch. Ws. in this year. "A lede" and half of wood was given at the same time to another.

PAYMENTS, PRICES, ETC.

1580] Mother Hall's rent xiid.
1581] "Bordinge a widdow's children xiiiid.—a faggett for the wid. Daye iiid."

1581] Weekly and quarterly collections were made for the poor.

1584] "Armes housen" existed for the Upland poor.

1591] They collected for the poor 4l. 13s. 4d. and expended 3l. 15s. 0d. Upland.—"A base chylde of Agnes Randall was kept by the order of the Justys 26s. 6d."

1595] The whole sum paid "to the pore" in the year of occasional help by the constable was viiiia. in Upland. In 1587 it was xxxx. iiid.

1596] John King and George Myller chosen collectors for the pore for two years.

1596] "Payd for a private hooe for ——mother xiid."

1597] Breads and drinke for soldiers and sailors going forth with the last navy.—Caryinge of a childe by Darrente to Earle Stonham.

1598] An item was always in the Ch. Ws. accounts to this effect, they crave (or have) allowance wh they have payd to the pore pensioners of the Upland, which varied from 4l. to 30s.—and at the same time, when dining on all the good things of the parish themselves, by the consente of John Brown, esq. and all the townsmen, they gave sums varying from viid. to iiis. vid. to lame Copper, ould Tilwip, Golding, the good wife Waller, &c. that they might also comfort their hearts at this festive season.

1599] "Wode" was carried to their houses—Eliz. Wade and Margt. Daye.

1599] The pore pensioners received xiil. xvii.

1595] "A nott of all such charges as hathe bine layde oute by me George Welles, churche warden of Stowa Upland.

Ite. layde outt for rentt to the Bayliffe iiiis. viiid.

Ite. layde outt upon the crowntion daye viiid.

Ite. layde outt to olde Spanat for mendinge a stolle iiid.

Ite. layde outt for a payer of shoes for Covers boye iii.

Ite. layde outt to John Braser for caryinge of mother Lytte viiid.

Ite. layde outt to Christopher Baxter in his sicknesse is.

Ite. layde outt to Blinde Mathewe vid.

Ite. for a shirt for Coggens boye is. vid.

Ite. to olde Hoden att the buryall of his wife viiid.

Ite. layd outt att Bury att the bindinge of Beckett an orfent. is. vid.

Ite. layde outt to Mr. Rainberth at the Hundreth Cortte is. vid.

Ite. layde outt when we wer at the Hunderd rout iiid.

The some of his byle xxiiis. iiid.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1600 TO 1630, CONTAINING ALSO A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTY FROM REYCE'S SUFFOLK BREVIARY.

1600] Part of the taxation of the country was then carried on by plain old-fashioned ways, in directing each parish to send in part of the provisions required

for the royal household, the army and navy. Of this we have curious proof in the following warrant addressed to Stowupland, specifying the proportion

TAXATION.

which they must pay out of the general sum laid on the whole county for these necessary defences of the country. "These are in her majesty's name to will and commande you to p'wide for your towne fower combes of good rye and sweete otes for use of her majesty and the same to be delivered at Ipswich at the Key-side uppon the 1xth day of Febuary next—hereof we require you not to fayle as you will answerre to the contray at your perilles, dtd. the xxth of Febuary 1600—your loving friends G. W. Kebble, J. Mathew. To the constables of Stowupland."* Oats were then 4s. a combe and rye 5s. 6d. so that the whole sum amounted to 1l. 18s. 0d. which is about 4l. 4s. 0d. of our money.

In 1601 the same "loving friends" of the parish sent a warrant from Sir Philip Parker high sheriff, and Mr. Coward Bacon J. P. directing them "in the Queen's majesty's name to give knowledge and name all ye able men within their towne being above the age of eighteen and und the age of threescore to make their personal appearance before Sir Phillip Parker knight and others at Coddendenham beacon, uppon the xith daye of this monthe by viii of ye clocke in the forenoon of the same daye, with armore, &c. and the same arme be sufficiently repared —also to collect within your towne the some of xx.s. to be paid to us at the place aforesaid, with the names of all the persons as aforesaid, therefore we require you not to fail as you will answerre to the contrare dated the 8th Maye 1601." But the same loving magistrates were equally careful of home necessities, in sending warrants to each parish for a muster of two or more Hundreds together, in order that the militia might thus be recruited, the army furnished with soldiers, and the navy manned. About the same time the good constables in the Upland are directed "to collect 111s., and the same collected to pay to us at Stowe the vi of this instant, because the pore prisoners in the County Gayell in Ipswiche are like to starve for want of bred and chese."†

In some cases warrants were issued to assist in the carriage of timber for the use of the navy, as in

PURITANS.

this year the Upland hamlet was directed to pay xviiis. "for the carriage of 800 lodes of timber from her Hyness's woods," which is required by Sir P. Parker and Sir Anthony Wingefield.* They also directed "The Hundred of Stow to provide vi barrels of butter and vi wey of cheese for the provision of her majesty's navy." "You shall receive for every barrel of butter after the rate of iiii. viii.s. and for every wey of cheese xviiis., the same to be of the best and largest cheese of the first make." Of this quantity Stowupland "prowided" three firkins of butter and half a weight of cheese. And thus an estimation may be made upon the comparative productiveness of the several parishes in the Hundred. The whole district was remarkable for its fertility in the produce of the dairy. This species of taxation was easily borne, and as the price was a fair market average, no hardship arose, though doubtless much vexation was sometimes produced by the "receivers of the subsidy" refusing an inferior article, when parishes were inclined to get off as cheaply as they could.

1600] In all these and the earliest C. W.'s accounts, and papers in the ancient church chests from the reign of Henry the Seventh, the town is called "the borrowe," or "burrough town of Stow-market;" or "ye Borow town." The *Guild Hall* figures in them for "repairs and beautifyings," and the royal privileges of their charter seem to have been carefully preserved.

1603] The Puritan party in the church consisting of many clergymen who secretly encouraged the design of rejecting the Prayer Book and destroying Episcopacy, began to hold their meetings at each others houses, and plans were formed to bring about these objects. Whilst they ate the bread of the church and subscribed, they endeavoured to effect her destruction and betrayed her confidence. "The godly brethren" as they now began to term themselves, acted as if godliness was political hypocrisy, and a weekly evasion of the law Christian consistency. Their object was to establish Scotch Presbyterianism on the ruins of Episcopacy, to introduce extempore prayer

* Upland chest.

† Ibid.

* Upland chest.

DISSENTING NOTIONS.

into churches, adopt the popular call instead of Episcopal customs, and remodel the English church upon a platform of government which was then only fifty years old, instead of keeping to the simplicity of that church government which the Apostles established. In all these schemes Suffolk was the great offender. These dissenting "brethren" were active here, and Cambridgeshire with Essex were the two next counties most grievously infected with such dishonest clergy. To counteract in some measure their plans, and evidence the desire of the Laity for peace and the satisfaction of that part of the church with her discipline and worship, a general examination of the dioceses was made. The number of dissenters in each parish was specified, and it was thus ascertained how small as yet was the growing faction of the Puritan clergy.

I present the reader with this curious extract of the parishes in the Hundred, from the original papers in the British Museum.

1603] July—examination of the diocese, decanatus de Hartismere et Stowe.

COMBES. Mr. Miles Mosse, professor of Theology—Rt. number of communicants 200—No recusant of divine prayer or sacrament—He hath no other living besides and preacheth himself every sabbath—No impropriations or vicarage—Mr. Thomas Dandye esq. is patron.*

CREATINGE ST. PETER. Mr. Robert Smeth—The number of communicants 28—No recusant of any sort—It is a rectory or parsonage and he hath no other—No impropriation or vicarage—Mr. John Farnley, patron.

CREATINGE S'CTN'RUM. Mr. Robert Cotesfude—The number of communicants 22—No manner of recusants; he hath no other benefice—Mr. Justice Clench, patron.

BUXHALL. Mr. George Dickenson—The number of communicants 3—No recusant of any sorte—It is a parsonage representative, he hath no other—No such theatre (i.e. vicarages, &c.)—Mr. Henry Coppering, minister, patron.

FFINBOROUGH. Mr. Radulph Kenrick, vicarius—The number of communicants theare 120—No recusant of divine prayer or sacrament—he hath but this vicarage—Theare is an impropriation made within the said vicarage whicardige is valued in the kinge's booke at vi. viid.—The personage impropriate not valued—The King his Majesty is patron.

* Large spinning and weaving establishments existed in the village adjoining the town, which accounts for the number of communicants, and many weavers, &c. living in Stowmarket attended service in that church. A distinction between no recusant of any sorte, or of divine prayer and sacrament is made—for the last coexisted with Presbyterian notions, but the first meant no Dissenter at all.

CHURCH FEELING.

FFINBOROUGH PARVA. Mr. Thomas Breymys, chaplain.
HARLSTON. Mr. Robert Westley, chaplain—The number of communicants 15—No recusant theare any waye—This Harlston is holder for an impropriation and donative—Theare is no vicaradge endowed—His stipend is but vi. a year for his service—The said personage impropriate () is valued in the kinge's booke at vi. and Richard Musket gent. taketh all the fundes—There is no other patron known but the said Musket, who as before he hath answered taketh all the profits.

HAWLEY. Mr. John Goldinge, vicar—The number of communicants theare 33—No recusant of divine prayer or sacrament—He hath no other benefice—It is a personage impropriate with the said vicaradge endowed, whicardige is valued in the kinge's booke at 7l. 19s. 2d. ()—The personage impropriate was () valued in the kinge's booke—Mrs. Pretymen widow, is proprietary.

NEWTON. Mr. Wm. Symondes, vicarius—The number of communicants 8 or 9—No recusant of divine prayer or sacrament—He hath no other but this vicaridge—Newton is an impropriation endowed with a vicaridge, whicardige is valued in the kinge's booke at vii.—Mr. Artest is proprietary and Rich. Howe of Stowmarket, gent. patron.

ONEHOWSE. Mr. Hen. Godley—The number of communicants 10—He hath no such in his parishes (dissenter) —It is a personage representative, he hath no other—No such theare (vicarage, &c.)—Mr. John Tyndall, esquire, patron.

SHELLAND. Mr. John Towne, chaplain—The number of communicants theare 35—No recusant of divine prayer or sacrament—reported to be a donative—George Turner receaveth the profits and giveth for his service in the church vi. a year—He saith as written before (as to patronage.)

STOWMARKET. Mr. Willm. Peagrem, vicarius—The number of communicants theare 147—No recusant of divine prayer or sacrament—He hath no other benefice—Theare is an impropriation induced within the said vicaridge, whicardige is valued in the kinge's books at 16l. 0s. 2d.—The personage impropriate not valued in the kinge's booke to his knowledge—Mr. Richard Howe gent. patron and proprietary.

WETHERDEN. Mr. Milo Sill—The number of communicants are 116—Theare be within that parish seaven men recusants and six women recusants—and the number of men that do refuse to receive the holy communion is eleven, and these six women that do refuse to receive the holy communion*—He hath but the personage of Wetherden representative—No impropriation or vicaridge—The kinge his majesty is patron.

J. ALDRICHE, Commissary.†	
Number of communicants in	
Bury	640
" "	Sudbury 117
" "	Eye 410
" "	Mendlesham 120
" "	Ipswiche 1586

In St. Peter, St. Clement, and St. Vrnde the curates did not appear—they refused Episcopal jurisdiction.

* Roman Catholics still remained here owing to the influence of the Sulliardi family.

† Extracted from *Harl. Lib.* 595, p. 106. It is minute, and contains the same particulars of all the parishes in the county.

WEALTH—RATES.

In 1600 the rates for the poor began to be collected with regularity in Stowupland, under the New Act. Before this period they had been made voluntarily, there having been but few poor in the parish. In 1626 the rate amounted to 14*s.* 15*s.* 0*d.*, and the expenditure on the poor to 13*s.* 12*s.* 0*d.* Eleven poor "boddies" were then relieved by weeklye payments, and about 20*s.* per an. was given to each to assist them in their old age and necessities.

1606] The hamlet of Gipping and its "chaplaine" co-operated with the town of Stow in charitable gifts and uses. The vicar of Stow, the chaplain, the churchwardens, and some of the inhabitants met together and chose feoffees for the public property left by church people to different uses. It is worthy of remark that not a shilling of the charity bequests was left by any but members of the Established Church for its various purposes, of the public weal, the poor, and sundry gifts. A very neighbourly feeling existed apparently between all the parishes in the county, as it was not uncommon for the inhabitants of adjoining parishes to meet together occasionally in public games and finish the day with a good old-fashioned English dinner.*

1607] So great was the increase of wealth in the kingdom that whereas in Richard the Second's days the city of London could with difficulty lend the king 1,000*l.*—in 1587 they lent the Queen 60,000*l.* In 1607 they with ease and pleasure lent king James 120,000*l.* In 1609 he borrowed 63,000*l.* for fifteen months, and paid them 7,500*l.* "Eternall praises be to Almighty God, such is his boundless blessing upon the whole kingdom in generall."†

1611] Every parish at this time, and for many preceding years was obliged to provide itself with armour and arms. In each parish one constable was annually appointed and as the guardian of the public peace by night and day he carried the public arms. In large parishes as in Stowe, four or more of these personages existed. They were armed at

CONSTABLES.

this time with "a bowe and arrowes" handsomely ornamented, "for the fringe for the watche bowe" of Upland cost *1d.* now quite a fourpence; and they also carried the old-fashioned deadly weapon the English "bill-hook," a crooked hatchet mounted on a pole. "The watche bylls" for the parish cost them *xd.* each, or about *3s. 4d.* yet these were broad, bright, and most powerful weapons, and by them a man could be cloven at one stroke to the breast or his head taken off. Some of them however cost double this sum,* and just at this period some disorderly persons were disturbing the Hundred and the traffic at our fair,† so that the parish officers were of more than their usual importance. The wardens also enjoyed in this year in the Upland, a somewhat larger proportion of good cheer at their "reckning day." "Three bushels and a peck of malt costing *6s. 9d.* and *3d.* for grinding, were brewed into beer. A bushel of wheat (*4s.* and its grinding *3d.*) was made into bread. Spices for the ale to make it comfortable (costing *11s. viii d.*) were also bought, "with cheese and bred," and beefe and veal, are very evident proofs that the yearly day of assemblage was a matter of importance to themselves; whilst having to pay "for maymed soulders," and contribute pay to the army in Ireland for suppressing rebellions, proved that they must also remember their countrymen abroad and at home. "Twenty-three pore" people were "halped" in this year, and the whole sum expended on church and poore in the Upland for their share was *xiii l. xs. iii d.*‡

* 1611 Accounts.

† See chap. on Market.
‡ List of names of some of the contributors weeklye to the overseers Philip Parker and Will. Cassell, "and of the moneye which they have payde unto ye poore people in ye Borowghe of Stowmarket and to ye poore people in ye Upplande in the year last past, vix. from xxth day of Aprill 1610 until xix of April, 1611, beinge 11*s.* weeklye." The contributors names and what they gave weeklye."

Imprimis, Sir John Poley, knight <i>xxi d.</i> Amt. <i>xxxx.</i>	Alice Kebill
Mr. Doctor Poley	Alice Turner
Miles Codd	J. Kebill of Deg'th.
Wm. Mörse	Wm. Buxton
Thos. Kebill	P. Parker
Rich. Walker	J. Wright, jun.
J. Goddard, jun.	Robt. Heyward
Mr. Goddard, sen.	Wm. Willes
Agnes Bird	

* Vicar's charity booke, p. 84.

† Stowe.

CHANCERY SUIT.

Sir J. Poley was a popular man in the town. He attended a "visitation" for them at Bury, and there they "laid out for his dinner with apricots and wine v. s. 1*vd.*"* Yet the poor were never forgotten, nor was the church neglected, "a winding sheet for ye widow Hulbard 1*s.*—laid out for my part of the bell ropes 1*ls.* 1*vd.*—a book of artickles 1*vd.*—in burying widow Francis 1*ld.*—received of Stowupland for wine 1*xs.* (for the sacrament)"—follow in curious and rapid succession, and shew the circle of each day's events.

1617, 18 and 19] A suit in chancery had existed for some years between the inhabitants and Mr. Robt. Flick, gent. of West Creeting. In 1586 J. Revett, esq. bequeathed in Thorney hamlet a field called "Aldams" to the poor of Stowmarket, together with certain copyhold lands in Thorney Campsey manor. His trustees sold them to Mr. Flick, as the latter said without acquainting him with the bequest. After some years he refused to pay rent, or allow the Stow people to take possession. On this the law was invoked, and the power of the chancellor was sought. A decree passed after a hearing of the case, and when a dignified delay of several years had duly elapsed, the case being

NAMES CONTINUED.

G. Keeble	Thos. Tyrrell, esq. 1644 <i>ibid.</i>
J. Hubbard	Jos. Fawether, J. P. 1615, <i>accouzts allowed by</i> Sam. Tallmache, J. P.
Abrm. Goddard	Edwd. Washer, J. P.
J. Cobbold	<i>Names are in succeeding</i> <i>years often spelt differ-</i> <i>ently as</i>
Ts. Keymberd	Bobie—Boby
Wm. Heyward	Jenery—Chenerie
Ns. Smithe	Kebill—Keble
Ried. Parker	Suggat—Sowgate
R. Yughon	Smith—Smithe
M. Goddard	Pooley—Poley
W. Walker	Cobbould—Cobbold
S. Browne	<i>Additional names.</i>
P. Buxton	R. Catchpole
R. Jenery	E. Wymes
Wm. Robertson	W. Dickenson
J. Goddard	J. Barnes
J. Suggate or Sowgate	W. Woodye
W. Cassell	L. Blomfield
T. Sylvester	
1618, <i>additional names.</i>	
—Corke	
J. Peamor	
Chr. Boby, C. W. 1663	
G. Anger	

* Accts. Stowmarket.

CHANCERY SUIT.

in a nutshell, Mr. Flick was ordered to refund the rents and yield up the land. Sir John Poley, of Stowmarket, and Sir John Suliard, of Hawleigh, with Richard Goodwyn, esq. were named as commissioners to set out the lands, define the hedges, and re-instate the Stow people in their possessions. This was done, and the lands amounted to 1*4* acres in Stowupland, much to the satisfaction of the parishes. But Mr. Flick was not pleased. Disputes, law suits, and opposition arose on his part. Remonstrances and bad humour were excited on theirs. At last he went where all accounts are weighed in just balances, and his son succeeded to his estates. An agreement was then made* between the inhabitants and Mr. Flick, the son, that they would grant a lease for 999 years to him of these fourteen acres for 4*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* and this is what they handed over to us from that old bequest. It was doubtless a good bargain for them as putting an end to litigation and a bad one for posterity. Yet it probably approached the rental value of the land at the time. The parties who signed the deed for Stowmarket were Sir John Poley, knight, John Howe, gent., Rich. Draper the elder, grocer, Edwd. Kedgill, clothier, John Brasier, grocer, John Garnham, clothier, J. Keeble, draper, Thos. Glover, tanner, J. Sheene, clothier, Rich. Revett, and Rich. Draper the younger, grocer, "all inhabitants within the town of Stowmarket in the county of Suffolk on the one part, and Saml. Flick, of West Creeting, gen. on the other part."†

This suit had cost the town a large sum of money and one bill as early as 1600 "due to Mr. Keeble, attorney," amounted to 17*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* equal now to about 53*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*‡ Mr. Flick had filed forty sheets of exceptions to the suit, had "quibbled," assigned the land to his son, went to prison, got out, and they prayed the famous Lord Bacon, the chancellor, "for God's sake to put Flick in prison again."|| And again another petition§ by Sir J. Poley prays to have Flick's double contempt avenged by his being compelled to pay and restore.

* Accts. 1630.

† C. W's. accts.

‡ Book 28, petition 1617. § 46.

PARISH DISPUTES.

1607] Disputes had arisen between the parishes since the dissolution of the monasteries in 1530 and the loss of the Abbey's clergy and influence, respecting the sacramental bread and wine. The Upland had sometimes refused to contribute a fair share of the money required for communions. Such unseemly contentions were now appeased by a deed sealed and executed between the principal inhabitants on both sides, by which the Uplanders bound themselves to pay on condition that their inhabitants should be always admitted to the holy sacrament. Richard Howe, Mich. Fflegg, Wm. Howe, Edm. Keadgell, Jas. Raynolde, Rob. Simonds, Rich. Symonds, jun. John Scarlett, Rich. Draper, John Brasier, and other the chief inhabitants of "the Borrowghe of Stowmarket," with Miles Codde, Thos. Goddarde, Nica. Turner, Greg. Keable, Nicas. Smythe, Wm. Walker, Wm. Goddarde, J. Keable of Dego, J. Camplion, Alfred Wright, Robt. Hayward, and other the chief inhabitants of the Uplande of Stowmarket aforesaid, agree, that the churchwardens of the said Borrowghe shall provide a sufficient quantity of bread and wine yearly, &c. and that the churchwardens of the said Uplande at every easter shall pay the money, &c. to the Borrowghe "in full satisfaction for bread and wine for the sayde sacramente."^{*}

1611] Sir Nic. Bacon of Redgrave was created the first baronet of England, May 22nd. He took some interest in the town and acted in it as magistrate.[†] On the same day twelve knights and gentlemen had this ancient dignity then newly revived conferred upon them, amongst whom was Sir Lionel Tollemache, of Helmingham, Suffolk.[‡]

1618] Musters of the train bands continued to be made at certain seasons in the town and in all large central places. "Buttes," or mounds of earth had been erected long before on Thorney Green and in the Camping-land. These began before the reign of Elizabeth and were kept up at the expense of the parishes.^{||} The parishioners were ordered to exercise themselves in shooting with arrowes, cross bows, and

* Record book, No. 54. † *Baker's Chron.* ‡ *Ibid.*
|| "A gate making for the buttes to Thos. Cork 3s. 3d." Accts. Upland.

PARISH GAMES.

in playing at quarter staff, or in fencing with swords and bucklers every week. By this means the population was preserved in a warlike attitude, they also provided themselves with arms, as every man felt a pride in being possessed of some goodly weapon, when they met "at the buttes" on a fine summer evening for their warlike amusement. They also paid their officers for attending the general musters before the high bailiff of the Hundred, or sheriff, and gave Mr. Goddard vnd. a day "for serving in the towne Armor."^{*}

1618] Mr. Reyce an antiquary and man of note wrote a short account of Suffolk which is preserved in the British Museum in manuscript. Many less interesting books have been published. It is called "*A Breviary of Suffolk*" and dedicated to the Right Hon. his much respected good friend Sir Robt. Crane, kt. all true happiness in this life and eternal glory in the life to come. This wealthy and honourable person was the son of Nicholas Crane, Esq., of Stowmarket. The latter lived in Crow st. in the town.[†] They came originally from Stonham Parva. Rob. Crane, esq. and Lady Anne his wife are buried in Stow church. She was the daughter of Sir An. Egard and died 23 Oct. 1500. G. Crane her son and heir deceased and was also buried A.D. 1481.[‡]

1618] The following letter is copied from "*the Suffolk Breviary.*" It is a good description of the county and contains many interesting particulars of the towns and neighbourhood.

"Sir,

" Your continued and undeserved favours towards mee, hath made me often to consider by what mean I might express my thankful affection to you; and albeit I was much abashed to see how weakly I was punished for the signification of my intention to so honoured a friend, yet well remembering that a generous mind measures the esteame of things given not by the seeming view or price, but by the true intention of the giver, from hence it is that I have ventured, even with the true meaning of an upright heart, to present unto you the best will that I have, which is this coarse and homely manuscript, the fruits and effects of my recreative opportunities, which by all the means that I could I have laboured to gather

* Upland 1621.

+ *Jermyn M.S. Hart. Lib.* 8200.
† *Weaver's Fun. Mon.* called erroneously Chilton. "Sir Raffe Butle lord of Sudley and Alyce his wife daughter of Dayncourt, in a glasse window there found." This was broken by the Dissenters in Charles the First's reign.

CURIOUS EXTRACTS.

together for the benefit of this country, under the which next under God, I doe owe that little that I have for my birth, education, and habitation, and indeed what is more commendable (in my weake judgment) seriously (?) to search out the best ornaments of his native soile. Yea what can be more pleasing to the judicious understanding than plainly to set before them the lively ussage of elder times? the alteration of names clean worn out, the revolution of families now wholly extinguished, the traces of antiquity, the memorials of our honourable ancestors, with the monuments of their best deservings, exciting us to imitation and the notes of their frail blemishes, admonishing us to eschew them. The supreme powers have framed all sublunary things transitory and subject to revolution, notwithstanding the which, every one naturally doth foster in himself a secret longing and silent desire for his own continuance in this beautiful frame, which seeing it cannot possibly bee (for every one upon the date of his period must of necessity returne) yet hath the will of man found out the means so much as lieth in him to perpetuate the Reverend memory of his honourable parents, ancestors, and much beloved friends, departed, by erecting unto them the lively counterfeiting resemblances, effigies, pyramids, epitaphs and monuments, as doth plentifully appear in our churches, cloysters, and many such consecrated places, but I will wade noe further in the reason of things much less to detaine you any longer from the survey of the particulars in the table following. All that which I desire or any wayes expect is, that it would please you to vouchsafe (upon the acceptation hereof) your silence and honourable promise not to lend, give, or any wayes alienate this tractate, but to leave and bequeath it to your posterity; save only by transcript of any particular (which may hap to be desired) to gratify your affected favorites. And thus, sir, wishing you whatsoever may become your own virtues or my desires with all due remembrance of myself to you, and to my good lady I here take my leave, beseeching the Almighty God to send you both many long and happy dayes in this life and most comfortable and blessed ends for the life to come.

"Ever your in the true
"Tender of my best power and affections,
This 9th of Feb. 1618. "REYCE."

1600 to 1618] The county was "unpassable" in many parts from deep dykes, hedges, store of wood, bushes and trees. It was remarkable for the great number "of religious, grave, reverend, and learned ministers of God's Holy Word." The aire was considered in this neighbourhood and round Bury St. Edmunds so healthful, pure, and bracing, it "was so purged and refined" by the winds and "deemed so very apt and fit for recovery of health," that physicians after an illness ordered their patients to come from other shires into these parts to restore their constitution. "The wholesome sweetnesse of the aire" attracted and kept here many gentry. This ancient testimony to the healthiness of this Hundred and of the whole district between the town

DESCRIPTION OF COUNTY.

and Bury may be proved by the experience of any invalid now who is recovering from illness. The bracing refinement of the air has not changed in two centuries.* Upon these qualities of the air ancient writers supposed the great fertility of this neighbourhood to have depended. "This shire being situated more eastward than diverse shires of this realme saluteth the gladsome spring, visiting these parts somewhat more tymely than in other western parts; entertaineth the welcome summer, which with a most mild course lovingly nourisheth, and kindly ripeneth all sorts of fruit, to the end that the joyful harvest, and collection of the earth's benefits may be in the best and fittest time, which is ordinarily finished some three weeks before St. Michael, unlesse some late years fall out. The winter though it be often sharpe and enduring, yet is never so violent and stormy as in other places, by reason whereof all things bear the full of their natural and timely growth without any lett or hindrance of the same."†

The ploughs in heavy land were moved by not less than six strong horses, and in this Hundred tillage was intermingled with growing and feeding farms. Sheep were numerous in the corne grounds, and from this last product came "the gain that filleth their purses." A mine of gold it was said existed in Bantketon (Hartismere Hundred) but the expense of working it caused it to be abandoned. "An infinite change of delightful flowers" covered the surrounding neighbourhood. This parish (Stowmarket) is remarkable at present for the splendour of the colours which Dahlias obtain. The prizes gained by them have established their reputation to be superior to those of any other county. They are now exported to N. America, and thus the flower which we received from that new world we have improved and returned again more brilliant than at first.‡

THE HOP was at first planted in the best meadow ground, but after a while it was found that by draining "unprofitable marshes and moores," a rich and

* *Reyce's Brew.* written by him in 1602. *Jerome M.S. Brit. Mus.* 8200. + *Ibid.* p. 12.

‡ Grown principally by Mr. Girling, nurseryman of Stowmarket.

HOPS—AGRICULTURE.

suitable soil could be obtained. The whole of the low grounds in these parishes might be converted with great profit into its cultivation, and at this period a very large quantity existed. Large fortunes were made by the plant, but much money was lost by persons who 'greedily' placed it in improper ground when they saw how 'enriched' others became who possessed the fortunate light and peaty soils. The "Hop Masters" sprang into existence, wealth rolled in, a more than "Indian Quintessence" was expected, and there rose up "a company of Hoppe Merchants," who lived by purchasing and speculating upon the year's growth of this most uncertain of all crops. They generally travelled and bought the crop on the ground, and paid the money to the owners at their own doors. A succession of bad hop seasons at this period (1602) prevailed. Hops, poles, and grounds which had risen by a succession of plentiful seasons to "exceeding high rates," suddenly fell, and many hop grounds went out of cultivation.* This account embraces a period of about ten years from 1592 to 1602.

Parks for deer it is supposed were made and introduced by the Romans, but their diminution was rapidly advancing around us by the greater demand for corn, owing to an increasing population. "Hogges" were driven to London in herds. Sheep were kept in vast flocks and fattened readily. Goats had altogether vanished. Dairies of 40, 50, and 60 cows were kept. "They were large, well knit, with long bodies, deep sides, great udders, broad foreheads, with smooth fair and beautiful horns," and their average price exceeded six pounds a piece. Cheese for some years had lost its former reputation. A proverb arose in consequence—"whilst the cheese was in the mak the butter was at the market"—and this district famed of yore for its cheese lost its character, whilst Suffolk cheese became as it is now, and as it need not be, *opprobrium casei*—the hardest to eat and digest in the world. Cheesemongers then attended this

KNIGHTS, GENTRY, ETC.

market yearly from London to buy up the dairies.* "The smooth speech and civil conversation" of the townsman, "increaseth the number of his customers." "The world is nothing but a shop of all change"—and many large fortunes obtained here were lost by men going as security for others. The manufacturing rage for speculation then abounded in these and other clothing towns. Several knights of ancient families took a lively interest in Stow-market and some of their signatures appear in the papers. Some of them resided in or adjoining the town; as,

Sir Nicholas Bacon	Sir Robert Drury
Sir John Heigham	Sir Will Poley
Sir Henry North	Sir Clement Heigham
Sir Robert Gardiner (Upland)	Sir Thomas Jermyn

These gentlemen obtained their honours, some in 1578, during a progress of the Queen in these parts, and others for services in Spain, France, or Ireland.†

Of King James's knights (1602 and 3) Sir Edmund Bacon and Sir Robert Drury interested themselves in Stow affairs, and Sir J. Tyrrell was knighted by King James in his garden.‡

In 1602 Robt. Gardiner (Upland)—Wm. Poley—Edw. Poley—John le Hunt—John Gurdon—John Ryvett—Thos. Tyrrell—Thos. Ryvett—were justices living in Stow Hundred.||

1620] Much violence had accompanied the reformation in these parishes. The bells, the chimes, the tombs, and costly carved work had all suffered by the axes and hammers of a mistaken zeal. We cannot be surprised at this when we remember that the livings were connected with one of those large monastic fraternities, whose death-warrant had been determined by the courtiers of Henry and the king himself, and excesses were rather encouraged than suppressed at the time. The parishioners who were now the guardians of this ancient church suffered for the errors of their fathers. They had to levy large rates for the repair of the bells, for "wyre

* In 1602 however the price of hops became very high and the growth was increased. It was then £10 per cwt. *Ibid* p. 15.

London from Ipswich,

† *Breviary* p. 35.

‡ *Stowe.*

|| *Suff. Brew.* p. 61.

CHURCH DILAPIDATIONS.

for the chimes,"* for baldrichs for bell ropes; repairinge the pull pitt and pore man's box"—"remouvinge the pulpett and sittinge it up againe"—"fiformes and dooses in the church"—for carryinge the certificat that the "pulpett" was removed to the archdeacon, all these and many other expenses in mending the floor of the church, convinced them through the pocket that fanatical violence against holy places, even when abuses are to be removed, is always visited with a just retribution on the actors in the violence, and on posterity. These extraordinary charges seem to have rather exceeded the annual rates of Upland, as in this year they borrowed from Mr. Keble of Dego ten pounds, and paid him twenty shillings for its use for a year! They also purchased† "one booke called Mr. Jewell's Apolog which cost 10s. and her Maties booke valued at xviiid.

1623] The town and county were infested with vagrants and strangers having no home and business. Some of these were soldiers maimed and disbanded; others seem to have been attracted hither by the rising cloth trade of the town, and its public spirit in charities, and in the efforts now making to recover its ancient corporate and county importance. But to check the influx of such persons, "an order was made against inmates and such like needless, idle, and unprofitable persons not to be received, taken in, nor harboured of any dwelling within the Burrough of Stowmarket, made, decreed, and fully agreed upon by ye minister and churchwardens, overseers, constables, and all ye principall *head boroughs* inhabiting within ye pariah as following under their hand." It is signed by Thomas Philips vicar, and thirty-one other persona. The limits of the Borough are assigned as the Towne, Stowupland, and Chilton hamlet; and the penalty is ten pounds if they transgreſſ.†

1626 to 1630] Sir Robert Crane son of Mr. Crane, of Stowmarket was created a baronet by the style of Sir R. Crane of Chilton (hamlet of Stow). He had been previously knighted but was advanced to the last dignity on May 11, 1627. It was extinct in 1684||

* Upland accounts.

† Record book No. 9.

† 1619 Upland.

|| Baker.

VAGRANTS—LOANS.

"The towns Armer"** was inspected at stated seasons in different places. Sometimes "the trayning" was made at Stowe, again at Ipswich, or at Coddenham. At other times "scowringe the flaggons after Easter" or "scowringe the flaggons for wistitation, and washing the surpliss against the exercise;" with the setting-up of that old fashioned good thing the terror of idle boys—"a whipinge post" costing 8s.—and "irond worke for the whipinge post 4s."—helped to enliven the Upland parishioner's life. Times however were rapidly approaching which filled every cottage in the kingdom with dissension or alarm, and armed one half of the nation against the other for the attainment of objects dearly purchased at the price of twenty years of rebellion, and the hypocritical pretences of vulgar fanaticism.

On the 27th March, 1625, King James the First that foolish wise man died, and was succeeded by Charles, a grave, melancholy, determined man, of considerable mental powers, without foresight, yet never changing his purposes when once formed. His personal character had much to do with the subsequent events, and though they shaped themselves upon him for evil he never was able to mould one of them into immediate good for himself or people. One of his first acts was to enforce a most obnoxious mode of levying taxes by a compulsory loan. A paper was sent by commissioners into each parish, and the names of those who would lend money to the king were inserted at a meeting duly convened. Those who would not lend were marked by government, and in those arbitrary days much petty and some real annoyance could be inflicted upon them. Some of the Upland parishioners appear to have been obstinate in keeping their money, and there are records of various "systations" to Bury against them for many trifling omissions of parish duty. They were fined for not going the perambulation, or beating the parish bounds, but as none of their names are returned in the loan paper of 1627 or 28 it is likely that no one there would lend without compulsion, and like many others in the kingdom they considered the loan as nothing more than an

* Accounts.

ILLEGAL TAXATION.

odious tax under the hypocritical mask of a loan. In general those who thus lent money parted with it as a gift to the king. In all its features the system was a bad one. It felt the pulse of loyalty sometimes in a town, but the plan was utterly opposed to common sense as a tax, and was one of the great grievances introduced by the commons into their famous remonstrance and petition. Those who would not lend were frequently imprisoned and fined. The commissioners inserted the names of those persons in a parish who were supposed either to be so loyal as not to wish to refuse, or so puritanical as not to be willing, and thus the cavaliers and round-heads of the years of civil war found themselves side by side in these curious papers. For instance in Stowmarket—"the names of such inhabitants within ye towne as we thinke fit to lend more or less"—a pound rate."† In this venerable column of names "the dame Ursula Poley, and Robert Heire, clerk" who were staunch royalists, are inserted with "Thos. Younge, clerke," the puritanical vicar, Milton's tutor, and one of the authors of the future Smeectymnuus. There are twenty-nine names with crosses attached as having most likely paid; six are uncrossed, and four are scratched out. The names of

• 1630.

† Parish record book No. 36.

PRICES.

those who took opposite sides in the subsequent contests are in this paper.*

PRICES, ETC.

1601]	A bushel of rye of Cocke of Ipswich ijs. viii.	s. d.
1607]	Layd out for sacks iiiid.†	0 5 0
1612]	Three bushels and a peck of malt - Grinding	0 0 3
	A bushel of wheat -	0 4 0
	Grinding	0 0 3
	Spices iis. vild.—chees xvjd.‡	
1622]	Layd out for Mr. Philips dynner xiid. (vicar.)	
	For drinck when we went the pambulation at Bloggetts iis. iid.	
	Washing the surplices Whit Sunday iid.	
	Washing the surplices again when Mr. Holte preached iid.	
	To the wistlers at Stowe church iiis.	
	[Uppland Ch. Wds. accounts.]	
1626]	Is the first payment from the lands of Mrs. M. Gowle for the reparations of the church of Stow-market.	
1627]	Goody Burd for a shurt for her lame boy 0 2 0	
	Thatchyng the armis house -	0 6 0
	Making of Ann Pratts petticoat and a } pocket 0 0 3	
	A payre of hooes for owld Ward -	0 2 8
	A wheel for mother Tannard -	0 2 6
	A payre of hoosen -	0 0 6
	Windyngh sheet -	0 3 0
	Payer of shooes for owld Palmer -	0 2 0
	200 bricks -	0 3 0
	The scholemaster for the Xmas. quarter 0 15 0	
	A brief for a church in Cambridgeshire 0 2 0	

* The name of "Wm. Manning" is one of them, who was afterwards depated by the parliamentary commissioner Dowsing to break the church windows and lower the chancel, and from whose descendants I obtained the oil portrait of Dr. Young, which though faded is still in good preservation.

† Burrough of Stowmarket.

‡ C. W's accounts reckning feast.

CHAPTER XXV.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1630 TO 1648.

DISCONTENT.

1630] The first of those patriotic parliaments whose object was to limit the arbitrary power of the crown, had been now rashly dissolved by Charles the First, and discontent pervaded the nation. Henceforward the king determined to govern as he could,

DISCONTENT.

without legal taxation, and employ every means to obtain money from the people without law, and yet under its colourable sanction. Such measures are intolerable to our English sense of honour and honesty. The winter of this year was very severe and accom-

DOCTOR YOUNG--SESSIONS.

panied with pinching distress, and forty-three "widowes and pore bodyes" had a large quantity of "faggottes" made and distributed to them by the parish.* The spirit of Presbyterian discipline began also actively to display itself under the superintendence of Dr. Young, Milton's tutor, the vicar, in various little peculiarities. For it was "resolved that it be at the disposings of the churchwardens to dispose to the poore accordyng to their dyscreations the remaynder of money givon to the poore at communions beinge the sum of 9s. 3d." The principle of popular interference with things devoted in charity to God soon encroached upon the spiritual functions of the clergy, and both desk and pulpit in a few years were invaded by the people, who preached and prayed and distributed bread and wine to each other at their own discretion.

The venerable chests, those relics of monastic times, in which such a large collection of the papers used in this history was found, were this year repaired, and "two keyes" fitted to them, by John Locksmith. The lids are semicircular, five feet long, and hollowed out of a solid piece of wood, and "Goodman Write mended ye cheast that stands in ye chancel." "Ye clock," too was "sittē up" after it had been repaired, and wire, and oyl for chimes, and bell ropes for bells remind us that tunes, and peels, and hours were of as much importance to our fathers as they are to ourselves. The town had been "endited at the quarter sessiones," for not keeping the clock in repaire. The sessions were held at this period for a short time in the town. They were also remiss in not new paving the church and were served with an "indictment." Sir J. Poley was principally instrumental in assisting the town out of its difficulties. Mr. Edward Pole made them a present of a fat ox at Christmas, and gave them corne to grind into bread for their poor. But as now so then presents were not to be had without "bere, for money went in bere upon the men to give them drinke when they brought in the befe."[†]

The quantity of wine used at communions was large. The irreverent custom of sittē at the

* Parish record book No. 50.

[†] Accounts.

PURITANS.

table began to appear in some churches, and was more than connived at by the Presbyterian clergy. A loss of reverential habits in receiving the holy sacrament soon became converted into making it a mere form. They ate and drank it as a common meal and laid themselves open to the Apostolic censures of St. Paul.* "The wine for ye hole year to Mr. Williams came to seventy-nine quarts." It was administered every month, and "clarratt" was the liquor then employed at 5d. a quart. In the next year it decreased to 6d quarts, but in 1630 it rose to 100. Much bread was used, in the proportion of more than one large loaf to each quart of wine, and the Presbyterian fashion of turning these vessels of grace into an eating and drinking assemblage prevailed for a few years. These innovations were headed by Dr. Young, but were opposed by many of the parishioners, and the wine decreased rapidly after some time, nor can we find any such large quantities employed again.[†] The loyal party also began to make their attachment to the crown felt notwithstanding its oppressive errors. "They set up ye king's armes" in ye church. They rang on "crownation daye." They "boughte the prayer for the Kinge and Queene."[‡] When the bishop came into the town for visitation they provided his servants "with bere."^{||} And as they had not a copy of the king's proclamation for using lawful relaxation on the Sabbath (that presumptuous folly of Archbishop Laud), he ordered them to buy "a boke of Liberti for the Sabbath," and write up the commandments in the church. This direction was a sort of test in a parish between those who were inclined to become puritans and churchmen. A more absurd one could not have been devised. But it partook of the spiteful temper in which the Archbishop, Laud, managed all church affairs, and which led to his own destruction. The two parties here began to shew themselves in decided colours. And whilst all good churchmen deplored this new proclamation for the re-issue of this obnoxious "boke," they could only secretly murmur at it since it was made a test of their loyalty to possess it. One of the bells was

* 1 Cor. xi.
† Accounts 1634.
‡ Parish record book No. 15.
|| No. 51, book.

THE POOR--POPULAR APPREHENSIONS.

still called "the saintes bell," from its having been rung in Romish times on holy days. And one of them being recast, which weighed 500 cwt. there is a charge for "towing and fraig" from Ipswich, which would lead to the conclusion, that flat-bottomed boats could then pass along the river from Ipswich to Stowmarket as they had done in the eleventh century.*

[1632] In this year "the skoole house" was built and "glassed." Much sickness prevailed in the town, but the poore were never forgotten; and there is nothing more gratifying than to observe for nearly 300 years in all these papers such annual repetitions of the poore "being helped in sickness, in lameness, in their sad extremities, with wood, and drinkes, with wool to carde, with cardes for the wool; in their births, at their burials, in laying them forth, in their great distress." These apparently dull items are radiant with Christian charity, and bespeak the care taken by old England for the sons and daughters of her soil. May we never yield up to the levites of modern philosophy this old scriptural way of taking care of our own poor.†

[1635] People now began to feel those uneasy apprehensions of some great national calamity which always precede general convulsions in a state. Arms were polished up, troops were marshalled, ship money had begun to be collected, and discontent and forebodings of evil agitated men's minds. "The marshallers and maymed souldiers for one whole year" required a small tax here of 17*s. 4d.* This it is likely is the ship money tax which was levied by king's warrant alone, and pronounced on Hampden's trial illegal. The parish arms were looked after, and "ye Towne head piece was new fringed, a newe hilt was put to the sworde, the pike was righted, and the same was scowred," all which important operations cost 4*s. 4d.*‡ And "when ye Lord Bishop came through ye towne," "ye Ringers" were handsomely paid to honour the church and the king. Yet

GUILD-HALL—DOCTOR YOUNG.

this bishop was very vigorous in compelling all the parishes in his diocese to a close conformity with the established order of church services; and was very particular in this parish, knowing it is likely the character and tendencies of the vicar's doctrines.¶

"The guild-hall yeard" was surrounded by new palings and a hedge, was new tyled, and had new doors and windowes. This corporate building stood then near the church-yard. Many houses in the town were owned by the parish, and some of them in Bury street called "temple bar," were very substantial and built of red brick with walls of great thickness. The towne expenses became very heavy in this yeare and amounted to 102*l. 6s. 8d.* The curfew bell was still kept up and paid for by the Wardens.

[1637] Great numbers of wandering persons in this and for ten following years were assisted by the Wardens. Some were "travelling ministers, others, men which had a great loss at sea, sometimes people with a burning dwelling petition; poore travellers which had a great losse; poore men of Bury in ye sickness time; poor Irish women and men; shipwracked men; and strangers without home" were aided by small sums of money at the discretion of the wardens and overseers.

[1638 and 9] Dr. Young the Vicar, was unpopular with large party in the parish. He had fostered Presbyterianism in the church, and its spirit soon deprived him of his rights. In a few years the religious radicals or mob took from the Presbyterian ministers all their boasted discipline and presumptuous purity, and taught them by the rough arguments of popular violence that the rejection of bishops from the Church is the signal for every disorder in the State. Dr. Young had officiated for some time without a surplice, but in this year the king's party compelled him or his curate to wear the obnoxious garment, by furnishing one "of ten yards of linnen" quite new, which cost 13*s. 4d.*† In five years afterwards his faction prevailed, the town was coerced by the parliamentarians and loaded

* Book No. 51, year 1634. See p. 80, history.

† Accts. 1634, The towne property produced a rental of 32*l. 13s. 4d.*

‡ Accounts.

¶ Husme.

† See chap. on his life.

COUNTY ELECTIONS.

with taxation, and this very surplice was seized, torn, and sold as an old rag by the Puritan warden.

1640] Suspense and agitated passions on religious and political topics disturbed the nation as the great civil contest of twenty years approached, and many local disturbances between the opposite parties arose. Something of this nature broke out here, and obliged the town "to hire soulbinders" to preserve the peace and quiet the factions. "Oylng the town corslett and mending the pike," gave also a fearful note of preparation, and in a short time the town had to suffer an impoverishment from which it very slowly recovered, whilst its loyal party could neither aid the king by services nor money.*

1640] It would appear that much confusion and some violent contentions occurred at this period in an effort made by the king's party to secure the elections at such an eventful crisis. Mr. Lionel Cooke of Barham with his son Paris, without warrant from the sheriff removed the polling place from the county court at Ipswich where it had been always held to Beccles. Ipswich has been the oldest, largest, and most influential town in the county since the ruin of Dunwich, (which occurred between the fourth and seventh centuries) and was considered "the eye of the county." But all general meetings in which the

* RELIGIOUS PARTIES, &c.

Although the church was overthrown by a party within her walls, yet a disorganized and active party without existed. They held wild and extravagant opinions. The Presbyterian, or "Godly Brethren," as they presumptuously termed themselves, to the exclusion of all others from piety or godliness, were moderated in their love of novelty by a desire after the democratical order of the Scotch Kirk. But the infant sects which existed beyond the pale of the church were tied by no such imperfect discipline, and sought only to make each man according to his whim, or each party according to its power, the interpreter of his own actions, being specially inspired, they said, to expound Scripture to suit their own purposes.

In a rare tract of A.D. 1597, on the causes of the great troubles in England, one is that a new kind of gospellers called *Brownsists*, assert "that they being directed by the great fervour of the Holy Ghost do expressly affirme that the Protestantall Church of England is not gathered in the name of Christ but of Anti-Christ, and that if the prince or magistrate do refuse or delay to reforme the Church the people may without their consent take the reformation into their own hands." Here we have the seed of that great rebellion which plunged the whole nation into bloodshed and tears in this reign. *Hart. Lib.* 537.

COUNTY TOWN.

whole county concurred have been held for convenience and by prescription at Stowmarket. Originally it is likely in British and Roman times the great work at Haughley (Sitomagus) caused this Hundred to be the most conspicuous in the county; but with the fall of the Roman and British power Stowmarket and Haughly retired before the rising importance of Ipswich, and the latter town became thenceforward the metropolis of Suffolk.* Early custom and convenience preserved the honour to this central town of the general meetings, as the ancient county town or place of assembling. And at this date a nomination as usual of the candidates had been made some days before, when the polling place was thus suddenly altered to Beccles by Mr. Cooke, in order that certain whig influences in Ipswich might be neutralized at Beccles. This stratagem was resisted by the high sheriff, and after much rioting, with drawn swords and broken tables, Mr. North was defeated, and Sir P. Parker and Sir A. Barnardiston were returned. The polling for the members had been delayed from the dread of the small-pox which at the time was very malignant in Ipswich.† The county meetings thus held at Stowmarket, meet a parallel practice in Surrey, where all such assemblies are held at Epsom, whilst the sessions are continued elsewhere. I have therefore called Stowmarket the Ancient County Town of Suffolk, as it is, if the county meetings can confer this title; but if the sessions, then Ipswich possesses this honour. At two different periods the General Sessions were held here, and the jail was under the Greyhound Inn, but the town was not then large enough to keep up the custom.

Sir Nath. Barnardiston and Sir Philip Parker were at the King's Head in Ipswich. Tables were set in a field and names taken down at them for the above knights, and Mr. North their opponent. A great riot ensued, and Mr. John Clench of Creeting and Sir Robert Crane (of Stowmarket) were two of

* See p. 3.

† See several curious papers, affidavits, complaints, &c. on the subject of this election in *Hart. Lib.* 158-160 and other numbers.

ELECTION IN 1640.

the active promoters of it armed with swords and rapiers on Mr. North's side. One Mr. Gardener Webb said "the high sheriff had been damnable base in all his carriage." The excitement was so unusual that "some women" voted and took the oaths at first for the "two aforesaid knights." This was however over-ruled by the high sheriff, and in casting up the books the female votes were "cast out of the general summes."^{*}

Nov. 3rd (1640) the fatal new parliament attended the king in the house of Lords and commenced on the 5th those sittings which brought civil war, the murder of the king, and the overthrow of the church upon the nation.[†]

This period comprises the main actions of the civil war, and during its progress heavy rates were levied by the authority of parliament against the king, and paid every two months by our town. In 1645 Oliver Cromwell was proclaimed Protector and maintained an arbitrary government, far worse than that of Charles the First over the whole kingdom and by the law of the sword. He was another Napoleon, and as he had conquered all so he governed them as he pleased.

The rates levied for soldiers and the support of the parliamentary war commence thus—"a rate made the 6th June 1642 by Roger Barnes, gent. and J. Brazier, gent and John Heyward appointed to be seisors with the rest of the inhabitants within the towne for the some of twenty-nine pounds and thirteen shillinge." They then levied on land and goods thus:—

	£. s. d.
The Ladys Poley for her own lande 16l.	0 7 4
per an.	
Idem in goode 15 <i>1/2</i> l.	0 3 5 <i>1/2</i>
Mrs. Ell. Poley in goodes 20 <i>1/2</i> l.	0 4 7
Mrs. Ursula Poley in 20 <i>1/2</i> l. goodea	0 4 7
William Manninge, gent. for lande, demeans,	
tenements, and lords rent for the same man-	
nor he hireth of Rob. Sainthill, gent. 82 <i>1/2</i> l.	2 15 0
Idem for lands he hireth of W. Tirrel, gent.	
18 <i>1/2</i> l. Idem for the impropriation 20 <i>1/2</i> l.	
Thomas Young, clerk, for tithe the land and	
tithe within ye burrow 8 <i>1/2</i> per an. (Milton	0 3 8
the poet's tutor!)	

* Bib. Harl. 165, 6, 6, 4 Sir Symonds D'Ewes was sheriff.

† Nelson's Hist. Col. b. 1.

RATING

	£. s. d.
Rob. Eyres, clark & gent. landes & stock 50 <i>1/2</i> l.	5 2 6
John Sherman for a tenement of his own with	
a water-mill and wind-mill at 10 <i>1/2</i> per an.	0 4 7
Rob. Wright a tenement of his own and stok	0 0 11
40 <i>1/2</i> per an.	
Thos. Palmer a tenement of his own with a	0 0 11
shop and stok 40 <i>1/2</i> &c. &c.	

About 100 persons are inserted as possessing tene-ments of their own, with many gentry, and the whole town presents a flourishing aspect of quiet wealth and contentment.

In 1640 John Brazier one of the Churchwardens "for the Borow of Stowmarket" states amongst other items:—

	£. s. d.
Mr. Williams denwers at ye reckning daye	1 19 0
Wine for denner	0 9 4
Laid out at ye generals for Ch. Wardens and	
questmen	0 6 4
To ye clarke of the peace for providia our	
aperance and for a copy of our indictment	0 9 4
and to crave a day till next sess	

This indictment was probably an ecclesiastical penalty for the neglect of some legal repairs which the church wanted. Dr. Young was now beginning to feel that he had effected part of his object, but the power was still in the hand of those who could enforce a penalty for breach of duty.

"The Buttes" were mounds of earth constructed in the Camping Land in the town and on Thorney Green, where the young men exercised themselves in shooting with arrowes in old times, and more recently as at this period in firing with cross bows and musquets. By this means the train-bands of the Hundred were kept in military order and array. Before a standing army was brought into pay in the reign of Charles the Second, this weekly exercise was of the utmost importance to the security of the country. The general taxation for the standing army pressed heavily upon individuals, but it is questionable if on the whole more is now paid than at that time, when each landowner or occupier of a certain quantity of land had to provide arms and accou-trements for a certain number of soldiers, and each parish contributed its proportionate sum for keeping up the buttes and equipments for its parish soldiers.

	£. s. d.
For fetchin of flag for ye buttes	0 4 0
To Write & Wedde (men) for making of ye buttes	0 6 8
For pales (staves) and mayles for ye buttes	0 1 4

PARISH ITEMS.

The indications of civil war were plainly heard, and notes of preparation were thus made by practising with guns at the public shooting buttes every week.

	£. s. d.
To an Irishman, a traveller with a passe to procure his	} 0 1 0
To an Irishman and his wife	0 0 6

This travelling by passe from magistrates was a common mode of not only moving from one part of the kingdom to another, but also a means of livelihood; as many persons could thus for several years traverse the whole kingdom, and were supported from town to town.

	£. s. d.
8th of July, on the daye that the fast was kept in money	} 0 11 9½

It seems an odd mode of keeping a fast thus publicly to charge the parish with expenses for eating and drinking, unless the money was given to the poor. But this does not appear. To assemble at church, and have long extempore prayers and longer sermons, on parliamentary occasions, and dine together, was not uncommon in these Puritan times.

1641] The dreadful massacre of the Protestants in Ireland by the Roman Catholics burst out to the astonishment and horror of the whole nation. One hundred thousand persons lost their lives, and thousands of families were turned out of home and property and forced to seek an asylum in England, whilst the whole nation suffered in property and welfare from the miseries of their brethren. Such is Popery and has ever been; when it cannot reduce, it will when it has the power persecute and slay. In the Churchwarden's account of Mr. Garrard in this year and part of 1642, are many items of relief to poore Protestant people who came from Ireland, and were begging their way they knew not whither in search of a new home.

	£. s. d.
Six poore people came from Irelands	0 6 0
Given to 16 poore people come out of Irelands to go to Parliament	} 0 2 8
Given to 2 women and their children, their husbands killed by the Rebels	} 0 0 8

The year 1642 increased the animosity of parties and the burdens of the people. "Mr. Barnes was won of the churchwardens for the Burrough of Stow-

PARISH FOLLIES.

market." Stowupland had to contribute its share to the taxes levied by the parliament, but the sums are there exceedingly small, and as much of the amount depended at first upon the feeling in favour of or against the king in each parish, I am disposed to think, that loyalty to the crown at this time was very strong in our sister parish.*

The levies of troops had then begun, and these were made in proportion to the population of each parish, and were paid by the general taxation imposed on the whole county. Then also such a spirit of folly seized the people that many raised altars, tombs, and ornaments in churches were broken, defaced, or removed. Our church still bears testimony in its mutilations to this absurd rage against those decorations which a truly pious soul and scripturally instructed mind would desire to multiply in churches, as some of the offerings its grateful love can make to Him who is its invisible Saviour. The altar was removed.

	£. s. d.
For our part for lowering of ye chancell	0 4 6

Stowupland paid the other half. But the elevation at the altar is now happily restored (1842) to what it was before these gloomy times, although the chancel remains the same.

Much sickness existed in the town and a multiplicity of payments were made to poor people in their "dangerous sickness." The constable who collected the rates levied for the parliament was paid 1d. in the pound for his trouble, and two of them amounting to 54s. 12d. were raised, which if calculated in our money (being then three or four times more than its present value) will be 218L 9s. 4d. for the parliamentary war.

In 1643 three rates were imposed at a weekly amount which produced in all 110L 17s. 0d., being 330L paid by this then small town towards the parliamentary war. But not the least curious paper is

	£. s. d.
* Reed. of the Ch. Wardens of Stow for their share of subsidies	} 0 3 1
For alehouse keepers (the town seems then to have had the power to license or not)	} 1 17 7
To Mr. Markes for the marshalling and training the soldiery	} 0 4 4

ARMY RATES.

a warrant from John Sutten, an officer, acting under the warrant of Capt. J. Thrower to the constable in the towne to levie the above sums weekly. He is "to pay it weekly at eight o'clock to the said Capt. Thrower at the White Hart in Stow, and if any refuse to pay they are to be *trebled* as in ye former war, and you are desired to take distresses or bring in ye parties who refuse to pay upon rates," &c. dated this 6th of May, 1644. So that whatever might be the loyalty of the town, so long as the king's forces were absent and the six eastern counties remained associated together, none dared resist; thus whilst the battles were fought in the west, and the county was kept from the miseries of the edge of the sword, we groaned under a load of taxation which quickly impoverished the town.

In 1644 numbers of soldiers passed through the town and were carried in their routs in carts by the constable. Travellers in poverty, women in travel, poore seamen by money were aided. One of the constables thus helped forward twenty-six soldiers to the armes. Yet the charities of life went on in their usual course, and "watch cootes," wood, moneye, cardes, and clothing of various kinds were given to the poore. In March of this year the town was rated for the garrison at Newport Pagnell, besides the usual taxation for the general war. There were five of these garrisons* near Lynn Regia. But the Irish army also demanded our help, and in 1645 the first levy of money for the war there commences. J. Keble the churchwarden in this yeare paid again for lodging poor Irish folk who had lost their all; yet "widdos," and their own poor were not neglected. A variety of payments to "goodies" with all sorts of names are included in the accounts, and the charity of the rate payers notwithstanding their burdens was active and large.†

* Paper for 1645.

£. s. d.

† Item laid out to one John Davey a Notting-hamshire man being plundered	0	1	0
Item laid out to a plundered man wh lived in ye Ile of Wight	0	1	0
Item laid out to a sodger	0	0	4
<i>Accts. 1643 for the Burrow.</i> "			

PARLIAMENTARY LOANS.

1644] Printed papers were issued by the parliament to procure loans. These were despatched by trusty members to the different counties where money could be obtained, and an interest as high as eight per cent per annum was promised for money thus advanced on the dubious security of successful civil war, but these loans were much commended by all the Presbyterian clergy, who made such advances an almost meritorious act in personal salvation. These papers were printed to assist the war in different places. Each man could thus suit his fancy. Some chose one county some another. One town or garrison was helped by this zealot, and another place where some known "godly minister" was settled, was aided by his neighbour. The papers were transmitted to all the parishes in the six associated counties, and here the seemingly voluntary loan became a test act, by which malignants, or loyal men could be discovered. The dread of fines, sequestrations, and civil persecution, compelled many gentlemen to inscribe their names in these papers, as a security for themselves and their families, who detested the parliamentary cause at heart, yet had not daring virtue sufficient to enable them to become martyrs in the king's cause. Hypocrisy in religion became in this manner transferred in numerous cases to politics, and the contradiction of a compulsory loan on voluntary principles, was one of the means adopted by the zealous republicans to overthrow both church and throne.

One of these papers* connected with this part of the county I have copied, the italic words being those filled in by the pen, and the signatures are those of Bradshawe, the president of the court who beheaded the King, and Steele. It will be perceived that loyalty to the crown predominated in the hamlet of Gipping, from the small sum thus doled out as a loan under the dread of a parliamentary sequestration.

November 11th 1644.

"Received the day and yeare above written by us JOHN BRADSHAWE and WILLIAM STEELE, esquires, authorized

* Communicated by Charles Tyrell, esq. of Polsted and Gipping halls—a descendant of those named.

CURIOS PAPER.

by ordinance of parliament in the absence of Sir WILLIAM BERKETON for receiving of subscriptions. To receive all such moneye as shall bee subscribed for CHEREHIRE, upon the ordinance granted to the said Sir William in that behalf, of the inhabitants of Gipping in the countye of Suffolk the summe of *thre pound, five shillings, sixpence* lawful money of ENGLAND, being so much voluntarily lent by them towards the raysing of forces, for the reducing of the county and city of CHEREHIRE, and places adjacent, to their due obedience and securing thereof. And for prevention of the accessse of Irish forces into those parts. And to bee repaid unto the said inhabitants their executors or administrators with interest for the same after the rate of *viii*. per cent. per ann. by such wayer and meane as are expressed in an ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, published in print the 26th day of March last.

Jo. BRADSHAWE
WILLM. STEELE.

	s. s. d.		s. s. d.
Thomas Tyrrell, esq.	1 0 0	Brought forward	2 19 0
James Tyrrell, esq.	0 10 0	John Westaffe	0 0 8
William Tyrrell, esq.	0 10 0	John Mill	0 0 6
Charles Dickens, gen.	0 5 0	John Whislecroft	0 0 3
Francis Tyrrell, gen.	0 1 0	Robert Tyrrell, gen.	0 2 6
John Raydon, gen.	0 5 0	Vincent Tyrrell, gen.	0 1 6
Samuel Forgan	0 5 0	Margery Cop	0 0 6
Robert Reynowldes	0 2 6	William Kersy	0 0 6
Robert Preston	0 0 6	Henry Crewe	0 0 6
	2 19 0		3 5 6

In 1644 a petition was sent to the Parliamentary committee then sitting at *Bury*, from Stowmarket, complaining of the heavy charges to which they had been put by having more than their proportion of taxation for soldiers laid upon them. Whereupon the committee send them an answer "dated by the committee att Bury St. Edmund's the 24 July, 1644, stating, that as Stowmarket was a populous parish and had sent out many soldiers both volunteers and impressed men above their pportion, whereof many have returned home maymed and wounded, wth hath been soe great a charge is fallen upon the said inhabitants, that if the like mischief be not preuented in time to come, they shall not be able to beare the burthen of it," therefore it was orded "as well for the saide towne of Stowmarket as for all other such populous townes," that the "high constable of the Hundred" was to specify the parish and the number of soldiers it should bear, and not charge more upon townes than their due proportion of men. It is signed by P. Dews, (?) and John Rouse, the members I suppose; and then follow the army officer's signatures, W. Soame, R. Breuster, W. Bacon, John

PURITAN VIOLENCE.

Base.* The strength of the parliamentary factions lay in the towns, and as they always had some partizans in populous places, when they might in a retired parish not find a single man on their side, they were compelled to make the towns bear the chief burden of the war. In Stowmarket, from several intimations observable in the parish papers, the king's party was very strong, and the loyalty of the little town abundant. But the opposite side were then associated with the eastern counties, and under these circumstances the loyalists dared not do more than remonstrate against their masters. I cannot else account for the large sums levied upon the towne by the commissioners and the stringency of the collections, unless that knowing the strength of the king's party, they thus punished the town for its secret attachment to the royal cause. At the same time, headed by Dr. Young the vicar, the round-heads were factious and oppressive because they were a small party, and from them proceeded the volunteers mentioned in this curious document.

During this year one of those scenes which disgrace a religious party for ever in the estimation of all well-informed Christians, and which were not uncommon in those days of deranged religious excitement, occurred in the parish. A large and fine old organ existed in the church. It had probably been there for several centuries, and had led the splendid chaunts and music of the Romish form of worship. But an absurd rage now prevailed amongst the Presbyterians against the music of instruments in worshiping God. A violincello would then have been a guilty thing, and an organ was still worse because more musical. The venerable organ therefore in Stowmarket parish church was destroyed and its pipes were sold. The Uplanders insisted on one half of the money as their share, and from the *animus* which pervades some of the papers, I think it was done by the loyal party there, to place on record the excesses of the Puritanical faction. The surplice and tippits were also abolished by these self-idolaters,

* Parish record book, No. 6. P. D'Ewes brother of Sir S. D'Ewes the famous antiquary, who lived principally at Stowlangtoft, but also resided at Stowmarket and Lavenham.

DISSENTING VIOLENCE.

and sold at the same time, and one half of the proceeds was likewise recorded very legibly twice over in a clear good hand for the benefit of posterity, in the Upland wardens accounts. The "pypinge" of the organ must have weighed about three hundred weight, and the instrument was therefore large and costly. They also parted with the rails at the altar and the communion table.* This however did not terminate the barbarous sacrilege that was then a religious whimsey of the Puritan party in the country and house of commons. The "crosse" or "the pynacle"† was cut down, and a man was paid to blot out the keys on the spire; as if these harmless emblems of the Apostolic commission, which opened the door of salvation by Christ to Jew and Gentile worlds, could have defiled the gospel within the building. Yet in the preceding year the churchwardens in Stowupland had paid 9*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* for its repairs; thus plucking down with one hand what they had set up and beautified with the other. And in the year 48, to complete the measure of fanaticism the churchwardens of the Upland paid men "for beating downe the pictures in ye glass windows of the churche, and for cutting off the images of ye endes of the stooles," and for taking down the crosse which surmounted the east ende of the churche. Four days wages appear to have been paid for this lamentable work, and the quantity of stained glass as well as its costly beauty may be imagined with regret, when we reflect that four men were employed a whole day in thus "beating downe" the scriptural stories of the glowing windows. From the complexion of the parish papers, it is evident that they were compelled to these unhappy acts, which secretly they detested.‡

* J. Hubbard, J. Kebble, C. W's. accounts Stowupland, 1645.
£. s. d.

Item received of Philipp Enfield for the halfe } 1 1 6
pte of the organe pypes }

Item received for the halfe pte of two surplis's } 0 9 3
and a tippettt

Accounts 1644.

† This was in beautiful carved stone on the East end of the church above the roof outside; its base sustained by four feut de lis still remains. [See Etchings.]

‡ Stowmarket Ch. W's. accounts 1644 and 1645 in Stowmarket parish chest, very curious. J. Hubbard, 1645.

CHURCH DESECRATIONS.

The parliamentary commissioner Mr. W. Dowsing, was the active agent in this sacrilege. He was appointed by a warrant from the Earl of Manchester to visit the county of Suffolk in 1643 and 1644, and take down and destroy all superstitious pictures, &c. The discretion of what was to be taken and what left rested with the commissioner. I have his Journal before me, discovered in his library and published after his decease, and in it the parishes he visited are arranged under separate heads, with the statement of what was done to purify as they thought religion herself. There could be no resistance attempted to this ordinance and commissioner of the parliament at the time. The war had then begun. This county was bound up in an association which deprived the truly pious church and loyal people of all means of resistance, and our own town was more helpless still. When therefore Mr. Dowsing appeared, silence and a reluctant obedience, on pain of imprisonment or fine, were the only alternatives for the Wardens.

"61 STOWMARKET, Feb. the 5th, he gave order* to break down about seventy superstitious pictures, and to levell the chancel, to Mr. Manning that promised to do it; and to take down two crosses, one on the steeple, and the other on the church, (as it is called) and took up an inscription of *ora pro nobis*."

The church was at this period adorned and fitted with carved stools. A very few remain, and have been brought to light by the parishioners in their late excellent repewing of the whole fabrie. These are mutilated, and the very curious images have lost their heads. But before these sacrilegious times the interior of this fine building free from the modern yet necessary incumbrances of galleries, adorned with ancient carved work, without pews, and lighted up by the solemn light of its various formed and then pictured windows, must have been an edifice eminently worthy of that worship which the immortal soul when rightly instructed by our reformed church, is taught to offer unto Him who is the author and giver of immortality.

We however were not alone in this then Danish method of shewing a zeal for their own form of wor-

* Journal 19.





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MATERIALS OF STONE IN AND ABOUT THE CHURCE.

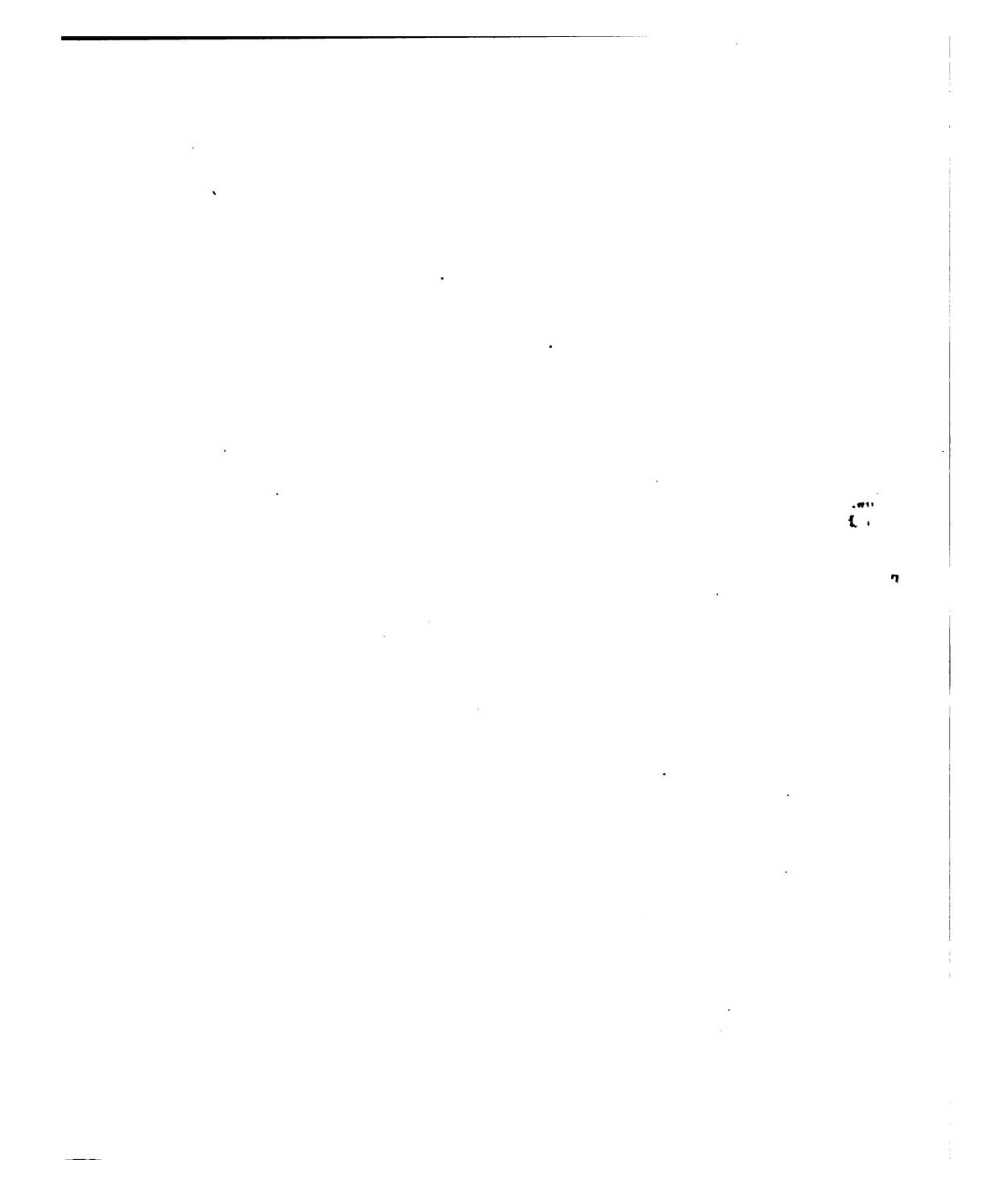
Etched by Wm. Ettinger



Drawn by Erussel.

Etched by Wm. H. C.

HEADS OF STONE IN THE CHURCH.



CHURCH DESTRUCTION.

ship. Of all defacers of churches, with the exception of the Pagan danes, the Puritan dissenters in our country have been the worst. The same commissioner proceeded to *Wetherden*, and here, though the church is small, yet having been the parish of the ancient Roman Catholic Silliards, Mr. Dowsing had further opportunities of exercising his anti-papistical zeal. In Stowmarket, he had been for the time so reluctantly obeyed that the work of destruction proceeded slowly, and he was compelled to be content with leaving an order to proceed. But in this parish he entered the church, and demolished the magnificent pictures himself.

"**62 WETHERDEN**, Feb. the 5th. *We brake* a hundred superstitious pictures in Sir Edward Silliard's aisle, and gave order to break down sixty more, and to take down sixty-eight cherubims, and to levell the steps in the chancell. There was taken up nineteen superstitious inscriptions that weighed sixty-five pounds."^{*}

These inscriptions were brass. Their interest and size may be imagined when they weighed 65lb. Some of them must have literally overlaid the whole tombstone with brass. Yet all were taken, sold, and the proceeds entered the purse of the commissioner. The general inscriptions were "pray for his soul," "may God be gracious to his soul," "for the love of Jesus let his remains rest in peace." The last touching appeal (in latin) to the commissioner who seems to have understood this language was all in vain. The pictures were representations of different saints, and passages in our Lord's life from the gospels. *Elmswell, Tostock, Badley, Needham*, and other places around were visited and despoiled. But not being in our Hundred I do not notice their history. *NEWTON* however with us suffered, and "I, (says this republican iconoclast)[†] there break down four superstitious pictures, one of Christ, and six in the chancel, one of Christ and one of Virgin Mary; and to see the steps levelled."

When he could not go himself, then he sent a sub-commissioner appointed by his warrant. Of

PARLIAMENTARY ERRORS.

these "Edward Blomfield of Aspell Stoneham" was one, with six others in different parts of the county. In *Ufford* he says, "we were kept out of the church above two hours, and neither churchwardens, Wm. Brown nor Roger Small, that were enjoined these things above three months afore, had not done them in May, and I sent one of them to see it done, and they would not let him have the key. And now neither (Aug. 31) the churchwardens nor William Brown, nor the constable James Tokelove, and Wm. Gardener sexton, would not let us have the key in two hours time." The new churchwarden said, he "sent men to rifle the church." What else could they call it? and W. Brown old churchwarden said, "I went about to pull down the church and had carried away part of the church." But this stout resistance, for which be their memories honoured, did not save them. He got in at last and "brake down angels in glass, nigh a hundred Jesus-Maria in capital letters" stars in the roof, a crozier staff, 67 pictures, and "we brake down the organ cases and gave them to the poor." There is a tradition with us that our organ whose pypes were sold was cut to pieces at night by some of the Puritanical faction then living in the town, and that being thus destroyed it was removed as useless.

Such are some of those disgraceful actions to which religious dissent is the parent when it becomes religious faction. These deluded men imagined that God was served by the destruction of harmless decorations, which pious people had rejoiced in being permitted thus to introduce into His house, out of reverential love to his threefold name and goodness. And in turn after a few years, they were the first themselves to cry out against the endless sects, divisions, and blasphemies, which such indefensible acts and principles occasioned.

In 1646 the towne paid for the garrisons at Newport Pagnell and for the British armies in Ireland. J. Heyward, G. Morden, J. Barnes, and W. Garrard sign the rate papers, as four of the inhabitants appointed to see the sum gathered by the constable. And however much they might dislike the office, yet as in case of defaulters treble the amount was

* p. 19.

† p. 21.

COUNTY TAXATION.

levied, which in its arrears would have brought more evils upon the town, even the royal party found it to be their interest to collect the rates with regularity.

Stowmarket had to bear its proportion of 70*l.* laid upon the county for "alarams" in various places, this money was expended in raising and maintaining a county force, which was stationed in various places to keep the peace, but the greater part of it went into the hands of the parliamentary leaders for the general pay of their forces. The town's proportion per month was 19*s.* 2*d.* In addition to which they paid a rate for the support of Gen. Fairfax's army and the Irish war.

Souldiers,* "seamen that travelled;" souldiers "that quartered in the towne;" and "charges uppon our towne for the Lord Fairfax his army;" rates "for alarams at Colchester;" are melancholy evidences of the disturbed state of the kingdom and the oppressive taxation of the government. The distress in the towne was very great and 500 poor people were in such actual want, that sums of money for the gift of rye were collected by J. Heyward and other good men. The town has been remarkable for its private and public charities from the earliest times, and there is the most striking evidence in the old parish papers of the existence of this lovely Christian virtue in peace as well as in war, in the past centuries of good old English times and in the present populous condition of the town.

1640] The distress was not diminished in this year. A spirit of resistance began also to manifest itself against these taxations, for it is noted cautiously in a separate piece of paper by the collector, of a "rate for the Ipswich proportion of money that Thos. Scapy and J. Crowe could not endure their rate for the overplus of it," they paid a part but would not pay the remainder.† Numbers of poor people

MONEY PAID.

were assisted by the rates this year. Strangers also from Ireland continued to pass through the town, and some of them were women of the upper classes who had lost their all in the war.* So greatly does the town appear to have suffered that if the war had continued a little longer it would have sunk into a poor village.

In 1645 the churchwardens lent out some of the town money and banked on their own account, for they received "for the use of money 1*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* The diners at the "reckning dayes" appear in every account and vary from 2*l.* to 3*l.* in expense. Even in these distressing times old English comfort was kept up, and for a period extending from the year 1560 to the year 1700 a churchwarden's dinner is part of the annual expense of the parishioners.†

They thus punished the town for its loyalty. This attachment to the crown from the strong outburst of loyal feelings at the restoration in 1661, is the most probable solution of the reason why the parliamentary rates for the war were here so heavy. Their injustice in levying the rate is also apparent,

* George Morden C. W. 1649.

£. s. d.

An Irish Gentlewoman at a passe - - - 0 1 0

Two Irish with a passe - - - 0 2 0

W. Garrard C. W.

Goody Nobbs, goody Maye, goody Sporlinge, goody Swayne, goody Sigar, goody Paricht, goody Outlaw, goody Campin, goody Imphar, goody Prentiss, goody Hubbard, and a very long list of poor distressed people were assisted.

† Some of the monies levied at Stowmarket for the support of the civil war by ordinances of parliament:

	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
1642 - - -	30 19 0	Brought forward 246 12 7
For the armies	23 13 4.	Money borrowed 19 2 6
1643 - - -	40 19 0	1647 Gen. Fairfax and the Irish war } 25 10 3
	42 12 0	1648 Ld. Fairfax 39 14 8½
	27 6 0	Alarms at Colchester } 46 10 0
1644 - - -	8 0 0	1649 - - - 5 11 3
	8 3 0	The army 35 7 8
	6 19 0	
1645 - - -	13 6 11	
	13 13 0	
	5 8 8	
1646 Ireland -	25 10 8	418 8 11½
		In value now 1255 6 10½
	246 12 7	

A large sum besides all the local taxation! (*P. Papers.*)

† Parish record book, No. 94, 93, &c. and parish chest. Soldiers' rates.

	<i>£. s. d.</i>
* R. Rivet C. W.'s accounts 1646—two Seamen that travelled - - -	0 0 6
Ten Souldiers that were to be quartered in ye towne - - -	0 6 0
Four Souldiers - - -	0 0 4
Ten Souldiers - - -	0 2 0

† Parish record book, No. 94.

LOYAL PARTY.

although it was a comfortable justice to their own party. Lady Poleye, J. Poleye, esq., and the ladies Ursula and Elizabeth Poleye, with a long list of respectable inhabitants were rated at 8d. 6d. and 4d. in the pound; whilst J. Clarke, J. Wright, Jonathan Sheer, J. Smit, J. Wood, and many others are only rated at one penny or half-penny. And the name of Dr. Young the vicar, and the leader of the Presbyterian party in this county scarcely appears as a rate payer in any paper. This was the mode which the "round-heads" had of keeping down, impoverishing, and suppressing the "cavalier" party whenever the latter could not rise in arms upon their radical persecutors. A man's loyalty might then be known in these counties by his rate in the pound.*

The Uplanders were much favoured and their rateage was small in each of these years. Puritanic opinions existed in some persons in that parish. This must have arisen from an unreasonable horror of Popery, for they took the solemn league and covenant at Ipswich and charged their expenses to the parish.†

THE WITCHES AND WIZARDS IN STOWMARKET AND THE COUNTY.

Among the many follies as well as crimes which were perpetrated by the direction or under the sanction of the Long Parliament, the persecution of witchcraft is not the least remarkable and marvelous. The Puritans in that notable assembly had overturned the episcopal Church of England, because its prayer-book was thought to be too superstitious. In one of the ballads of the time, called *vox populi*, they described the members of the church who

Tend on their prayers when the Saints' bell doth call,
Where instead of substance there's nothing but froth,
Much like the proud Prelates, so is their broth.

The prayer book was called *broth*, in order to ridicule its comprehensiveness and applicability to all conditions and estates of men.

* "The tradition is there was always a large loyal party in the town." Parish Clerk, R. Enefer.

† Accounts.

WITCHCRAFT.

The Papists and Prelates away with them both,
For we will have none of them, nor of their broth.*

They hated Rome as the eldest born of Satan, and believed that our church was too closely allied in her forms to that corrupt part of Christendom. But in flying from Popery and arbitrary government, they precipitated themselves into the opposite extreme of licentiousness in civil government, and daring fanaticism in religion. Every man was allowed to preach as he pleased, what he pleased, and where he pleased, without ordination or instruction, and solely in the Spirit, as it was blasphemously termed. The House of Commons and every town were then infested with political rhapsodists, who all assumed the cant of religion as a mask to their designs. The people were deluded with a hundred religious fancies and parties. Every itinerant spouter became for the day the idol of the crowd. Hypocrisy was made a trade, and men lived by deluding and preaching delusion to others. The gospel became a mere bye-word, on which any man could build up his own follies and call it a new exposition of God's truth. True religion visibly decayed when the national church had no fixed or written standards. Pulpits clashed with pulpits, and the whole country would have soon been a dark wilderness of heathenish fanaticism, or infidel folly, if Divine Providence had not interfered by the restoration of monarchy and the church to calm the religious passions of the people.

During this lamentable period, from 1641 to 1660, the parliament was superstitious and tyrannical, and many of the people became the slaves of ignorant religious terrors, and the submissive servants of a grinding tyranny in the state. Witches were supposed to exist in great numbers, and a roving commission for their discovery was given to one Mat. Hopkins, of Manningtree, in Essex, to find them out in these Eastern counties and execute the law upon them. In 1644, and the two following years, he pursued this abominable business, and lived in luxury on the money raised for this purpose. He proceeded from town to town and opened his court. This cruel

* *Nelson's Collections of Papers*, 2, 806.
Z

WIZARDS.

commissioner made his appearance during one of the above years in Stowmarket and carried on some of his investigations. A rate or tax was levied by some of the townsmen, under his direction. He dubbed himself witch finder general, had 20*s.* allowed by Parliament for every town he visited—and doubtless took care to transmit the balance of each local rate, after paying his expenses to his Long Parliament masters, who for the money which helped to carry on the war against the king tolerated the cruel impieties of this scoundrel.

It was not only the middle and lower classes that were subjected to accusations of this kind, the clergy also suffered. At this period the Rev. Mr. Lowes, vicar of Brandeston, was accused by some of his parishioners who disliked him of this absurd crime. He seems to have been an eccentric odd man, but inoffensive. The times were wicked, and men of evil could then gratify the worst passions of our nature. He was therefore arraigned before commissioners at Bury. The Rev. Mr. Calamy, and the Rev. Mr. Fairclough (who afterwards resided in this town,)† two notable Puritan divines, were joined in commission with Mr. Sergeant Godcold to try him. They pronounced him guilty of being a wizard and he was hung at Bury with the other wizards and witches.‡

Mr. Lowes had been "a painful preacher for fifty years" as vicar of Brandeston: a letter from Mr. Wilson was sent to Mr. Hutchinson from Mr. Rivett as an inhabitant of that place which gives this account of him:—

"Sir,

In answer to your request concerning Mr. Lowes, my father was always of the opinion that Mr. Lowes suffered wrongfully, and hath often said that he did believe he was no more a wizard than he was. I have heard it from those that watched with him, that they kept him awake several nights together, and run him backwards and forwards about the room, until he was out of breath; then they rested him a little, and then ran him again. And thus they did for several nights together, till he was weary of his life, and was scarce sensible of what he said or did. They swam him at Framlingham, but that was no rule to try him by; for they put in honest people at the same time, and they swam as well as he."

* See chap. on Nonconformists in Stowmarket.

† Walker's *Suff. of Clergy*, 290. and Hutchinson's *Hist. of Witches*.

THE WITCH FINDER GENERAL.

When he came to die, he would have Christian burial, and as none would pray with him, such was the tender mercy of the dissenting faction, or read the burial service of the church over him, he read the service over himself before he suffered, and so committed his body and soul to Him who died for him. A touching incident and a curious feature in the times!*

Hopkins says, the reason they kept the supposed witch walking up and down, in fact torturing her or him until they confessed, was "because if they be suffered to couch, immediately came their familiars into the room, and scarceth the watchers, and hearteneth on the witch." One can hardly write with any patience of such wretched creatures as Hopkins and his crew. He was at last compelled to leave the county. They swam the witches because they having renounced their baptism by water, the water it was thought would renounce them.†

One way of discovering a witch was that if a Bible or the Assemblies' Catechism was brought, she fell into dreadful fits, but if a Prayer Book the Devil let her read it. Curiously however the very texts she read in the prayer book he would not let her read in the Bible—so absurdly did the Devil and this dissenting doctor confute themselves!

Amongst our papers is melancholy proof of what the town paid to this creature Hopkins, and as 40 witches, poor miserable old women or men were hung at once in Bury, it is very likely that some of our Stow-folk were amongst them. "Such money as have been received by us Thomas Scapey, Israell Barrell, William Manninge, and John Heyward, upon the rate for discouery of witches" and the sum of 23*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*|| (a very large tax) was collected from the inhabitants for this purpose, and paid to Hopkins.‡ Twelve persons are set down as "behind" unpaid of the rate, amounting to 1*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* Wm. Wage had 9*s.* 6*d.* paid to him for his charges, which were the entertainment of Hopkins at his

* Ibid p. 68.

† King James I.—*Hist. of Demon.*
|| If turned into our money, coin being then worth three times more than now, it is 69*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*—a large sum to discover a witch.

‡ See parish record book, No. 23

WITCHES IN STOWMARKET.

Inn. Ninety-three rate payers are in the paper. In all 28*l. Os. 3d.* was levied upon Stowmarket by the parliamentary commissioner Hopkins for this wicked business, and some of our townsfolk were hanged at Bury besides. Butler says of this man, pt. 2. Canto 3:—(*Hudibras*)

“Has not this present parliament
A ledger to the Devil sent
Fully empower'd to treat about
Finding revolted witches out,
And has not he, within a year,
Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire?”

When no direct evidence could be produced against any suspected person he ordered them to be examined by water. To effect this, the thumbs and toes of the supposed witch were tied together, and she was thrown into the nearest deep water. If she sank her innocence was established, and although half dead, and sometimes drowned, the family had the consolation of a Hopkins' assertion that she was no witch. But if in her struggles not to drown she floated, then she was pronounced guilty, and as she would not drown as an innocent woman she was hung as a witch.

“Some only for not being drowned,
And some for sitting above ground
Whole days and nights upon their breeches,
And feeling pain, were hanged for witches.
Who after proved himself a witch,
And made a rod for his own breeches.”

Butler, p. 2, c. 3,

This story ends better than many other lamentable deeds of this then Parliament. For Hopkins so at last disgusted the good sense of the people, that he was seized by some of the county gentlemen and tied toes and thumbs together, was thrown into a river, when he struggled and floated and was pronounced to be a witch. He was thus shamed out of the county and gave up his commission. Such was then the state to which religion had been reduced by the introduction of Presbyterianism, such were then the parliamentary laws, and the evil principles of those who usurped to themselves the supreme powers in church and state.

The rate covers a period of one year from 1645 to August 1646. It seems to have been levied monthly

COUNTY WITCHCRAFT.

on the inhabitants. The names of the two persons either tried or convicted of witchery here, are—*Goody Mills and Goody Low.* It is however uncertain whether they were actually carried away from the town or not.*

Hopkins was accompanied by a man named John Stern and a woman. In some towns he could not venture to show his face because the clergy influenced their parishioners to oppose such a wicked cheat, but in other places the Puritan clergyman assisted and welcomed him—this was the case here with Dr. Young.†

Since the reformation and up to the year 1718, 140 persons had been executed in England for witchcraft.‡ The number hanged at Bury in 1645 and 6 was 40, and 20 in other parts of the county. In 1653 Jane *Lakeland* was either burned or hanged at Ipswich. And *Boram* (mother and daughter) were hanged at Bury.|| In 1664 Amy *Deny* and Rose *Callender* were tried and hanged at Bury. In 1691 they tried some in the county by swimming, and a few were drowned during the process. One of the most curious phenomena of mind in many of the witchcraft cases was, that the accused persons confessed their own follies, and some of them died willingly because they believed themselves guilty. In one remarkable case fifty little girls in a school would one day confess that black devils slept with them, played with them, and at the appearance of their governess all fled away—and the next day would declare it all false. It is plain in many instances that the accused parties were fanciful or mad enough to believe themselves witches and wizards.

I conclude this account with three not very old trials in this county of witches, and for the information of the curious can state that two supposed witches Nan Bugg and Betty Wineforth, lived about 30 years since in Ipswich and Stowupland streets in Stowmarket.

1693] “Widow Chambers of *Upaston* in Suffolk, a diligent industrious poor woman, committed to *Bec-*

* Parish record book, No. 23.

† See chap. on his life.

‡ *Hutchinson's Hist.*—Dedication.

|| *Ibid* p. 38.

COUNTY WITCHES.

close gaol upon an accusation of witchcraft and died in prison before her trial. After she had been walked betwixt two, she confessed a great many things of herself and in particular she said she had killed her husband and the Lady Blois, tho' the near relations of that good lady were satisfied that she died a fair death without any hurt from that poor woman, and some for experiment sake asked if she had not killed such and such; and she confessed she had tho' the persons were living."

1694] Mother Munnings of *Hartis* in Suffolk was tried before the Lord Chief Justice Holt at Bury. Many things were deposed concerning her spoiling of wort, and hurting cattle and that several persons upon their death-beds had complained that she killed them." She threatened her landlord that his nose should lie upwards in the church yard before the next Saturday—and before that day he died. She was charged with having an imp like a pole-cat. A person swore, that one night passing her cottage he saw her take two imps, one black and another white out of her basket. She was acquitted.

1694] Margt. Elnore was tried at *Ipswich*. One Mrs. Rudge swore that for three years she was kept in a languishing condition by means of the prisoner. Her aunt was hanged as a witch, her grandmother had said she possessed seven or eight imps, and she had given two or three imps a piece to her children as a fortune—a midwife had searched her grandmother to find the marks of a witch, and found much stronger marks on her grand daughter. Others swore that they were covered with lice after quarrelling with her. She was however acquitted.

DISSENT AND WITCHCRAFT.

One hundred and nine were hanged during the sixteen years in which the Puritan dissenters held the reins of power from 1644 to 1660. Fifteen only were executed from 1530 to 1644—from 1660 to 1682 eight were executed, and from that period none have been condemned. Whenever the principles of the Church of England prevailed in the nation, witchcraft was but little known, but when the principles of Dissent were uppermost, numbers of unfortunate persons have been thus cruelly and wickedly accused of intercourse with the Devil and condemned to death. But in this as in other more curious instances, the practices of Dissent have corresponded with and had their origin in the Church of Rome. In 1484, Pope Innocent issued his superstitious bull denouncing witches, and ordering them to be apprehended, and in 100 years the number of executions on the continent amounted to many thousands. In England little was done, until the Puritans obtained power, and then in sixteen years to make up for lost time 109 were hanged, 60 of whom perished in the county of Suffolk.

THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF WITCHES.

The Hebrew Witch
The Indian Witch
The Lapland Witch
The Protestant Witch
The Popish Witch
The Pagan Witch
A Cursing Witch
A Blessing Witch

A Witch by Art
A Witch by Compact
Active and Passive Witches
A Witch by Descent (as
the one at Ipswich)
(The Passive Witch is the
only innocent, for she or
he is a demoniac)

The imps were watched for, and it was laid legally down that they could only appear as cats, dogs, rats, mice, spiders, fleas, nits, birds, flies, a toad, a frog, a hen, a crow, a hornet, or a mole. These imps were generally kept in pots, which stank detestably, so that if a stinking pot was found in an old woman's house, an imp, said these wise Puritans and Papists, was sure to be there.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A LIST OF CLERGY EJECTED FROM THEIR LIVINGS IN SUFFOLK BY THE PRESBYTERIAN,
ANABAPTIST, INDEPENDENT, AND OTHER RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARTIES,
FROM 1643 TO 1646,* (AND ALSO TO 1656.)

CLERGY EJECTED.

AGGAS, Rushbrook, R.

He afterwards obtained his bread as a musician.

ALCOCK, WM. Brettenham, R.

He was without reproach or fault in all religious duties. But he kept the Rubrics and Canons of the church, called the war against the king, rebellion—and termed the loving brethren of the kirk, rebels. He had a wife and three children when turned out, and lost a private estate besides.

ALDUS, WM. Copdock, R.

He would read the service in the prayer book—a great crime when extempore prayer was called praying in the spirit.

ALLEN, Frostenden, R.

They allowed him to live in the parsonage and occupy the glebe. This was so small he must have starved if his neighbours had not relieved him in charity. He died before 1660 and the parsonage fell into ruins. One Row an itinerant obtained the living. This man was a butler in a gentleman's house, but turned preacher and exercised his gifts until he preached himself into this good living.

ALSOP, S. Acton, V.

He fled to the king's army, and therefore was pronounced guilty of every thing bad and depraved. He died before the Restoration.

AMBLER, T. Wenhamton, V.

He was called a malignant, and therefore was too base to hold a living. He might not be so good a man as many others, but he was a loyalist, and however pious, loyalty was a sin never pardoned.

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, fol. *passim*.

CLERGY EJECTED.

He had a wife and four children and lost also a private estate.

AYLMER, E. Akenham, R.

In 1645 he fled to the king at Oxford and therefore was sequestered. He was grandson to Dr. J. Aylmer, Bishop of London.

BALL, Wilby, R.

BARTER, T. Troston, R.

He died before the Restoration. But his widow was assisted by the corporation for ministers' widows.

BARTON, E. Grundisburgh.

Sequestered for non-residence, having a weak voice, reading his sermons badly, and for making sermons of only half an hour.

BEADLE, J. Trimly St. Martin.

He declared he would rather be torn in pieces than take the covenant, nor would he assist the parliament forces.

BEADLE, THEODORE, Ashbocking, V.

For exhorting his people against Popery but not against Episcopacy, observing the orders of the church, &c.

BENSKIN, Kelsale, R.

BLEMEL, Bury.

BLOXHAM, N. Waldingfield Mag. R.

He despised the parliamentary fast days. He is charged with disliking all fasts and loving feasts.

BOCKENHAM, A. Thelnetham, R.

He was also F. of Pembroke Hall, and resided after ejection on the continent. He lived to be restored and was promoted to the living of Helmingham, where he died Jan. 6. 1700, aged 90. He belonged to the ancient family of Bockenhams of Thornham Hall.

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BRADSTREET, SIM. Heslet, R.
BRETTON, L.—B. D. Hitcham, R.

He was a native of Hadleigh. A man of learning, fortune, charity, and a magistrate. He was proctor in the convocation. They could lay hold of no ostensible cause for ejection, but knew and hated his loyalty and attachment to church and king. They therefore harassed him with a constant succession of soldiers who were quartered in his parsonage. At length he was forced to fly. This enabled them at once to sequester his living. He lived on his private money at Hadleigh. He here read prayers in his house, and administered the holy sacrament to all the loyalists who came to his house. He was a person of a most sweet hospitable temper, and greatly beloved by his parishioners, gentry, and clergy. He had intended to have purchased an estate of 20*l.* per annum adjoining the glebe obliging his successors to pay 10*l.* per annum to the poor, and would have annexed it to the living. But at this juncture he was turned out; he gave the communion plate to the parish, and had only Hitcham engraved on it, which saved it from sequestration. One Miles Burkett succeeded him as "a godly minister!" He never paid a farthing of the fifths to Dr. B. nor administered either of the sacraments for eighteen years in the parish. On the Sunday after the beheading of Charles the First, he asked God in his prayer before sermon, "*if he had not smelt a sweet savour of blood?*" He is one of Baxter's godly ministers, but they were not all like him.

BREWSTER, E. Lawshall, R.
BRIDGES, Newton, V.

But Walker was unable to discover any recorded sentence against him, the date, or reasons of his ejection. Every active loyalist was a "scandalous minister," and ejected if he did not court the people in power.

BROWN, J. Moulton.

He said when asked to 'associate,' shall I find arms against my king? Enough, they turned him out.

BRUNDISSE, Swaffling.

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BRUMHALL, J. Polstead.

Lived to be restored.

BUCK, J.—B.D. Stradbrook.

White calls him a scandalous minister—let us see. He had been vicar of the parish twenty years. He preached that baptized infants if they die go to heaven. He bowed towards the altar, and above all expressed great malignity against parliament. If he had been an angel this would have deprived him of his living in this county, then trampled under foot by Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester. He was seized and cast into the jail at Ipswich. Here he lived for a time on some allowance from the living, but after a while they stopped this support. He then told the jailor he must live by God's providence on the jail allowance. This was a penny a day for bread with water to drink. For two months he thus subsisted and his constitution before weak and gouty now became strong and vigorous. His wife and children begged their bread and drank water with crab apples steeped in it to give a flavour. He lived to the Restoration and was nominated preacher at the temple, where he died in 1685. He was a man of talent and piety.

BURGESS, Eye.

CANHOPE, Bruisyard.

CARTER, C. Whatfield and Elmsett.

CATTISFORD, R. Hadleigh and Monks Ely, R.

He was a Prebendary in St. Paul's—a man of resolute spirit and turned out for preaching in his surplice and other like things, with the usual unpardonable guilt of loyalty. He practised physic at Ipswich and died very poor before the Restoration. There is a curious letter about him from some person at Hadleigh (then a large town) in Walker p. 51.

CHAPMAN, S. Hasketon.

CLARKE, A. Bredfield, Melton, and Iken.

He kept close to the orders of the church—he discouraged the spirit of disloyalty in his parish—he spoke against extempore prayer, and this was sufficient to condemn him.

CLAY, M. Chelworth.

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CLAYDON, Great Thurlow.

COLEMAN, N. Preston St. Mary's

He was said to be Popishly affected, for he used the cross in baptism. The Primitive church must then have been very Popish for they used it at all times and even at their meals, as a sign of their love to God and the Saviour, and so did Luther to the time of his death and once it saved his life from poison.* He bowed at the name of Jesus—above all he said the parliament denied the king his rights.

CROFTS, T.—D. D. Barnham and Weston.

Son of Sir H. Crofts of Saxham Hall and brother to Lord William Crofts. He preached against the rebellion very earnestly and the Earl of Manchester thrust him out. One *Legate* succeeded him who was afterwards forced to fly the kingdom in 1660, as having assisted at the death of King Charles. Dr. Crofts was a man of piety, ability, and a noble generous disposition. He lived to be restored. *Legate* never paid the fifths, which all these ejected clergy were to have had. No one durst go to law for them. And thus so many of them and their families died in misery and starvation.

CROSBY, Lazfield.

CUTHBERT DALE, Kettleborough.

DALTON, T. Dalham.

Barnard a working smith got the sequestration of the living, and one *Randall* served as curate. The patron found on going up to London that the government "made their court to the dregs and scum of the people," and therefore the blacksmith was a better man than the squire of the parish. Consequently he could not present any one to the living and so it was held to the Restoration. The iniquitous proceedings of the little parliamentary committees as at Bury, and their tyranny, was much greater than that of the whole body. The masses of the people can never accomplish a revolution without the aristocracy as leaders; and the aristocracy can never effect one without the mob.

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DAMPERT, Stowlangtoft.

DUNCOMBE, Chediston.

ECHARD, Yoxford.

EDGAR, E. Hawsted.

EVANS, W. Sandcroft.

EVANS, Thorington.

FALE, J. Fressingfield.

FERROR, J. Trimley St. Mary's.

He reproved his parishioners for putting on their hats during prayers; and objected to the compulsory loans made by parliament saying "theft was now called borrowing."

FLICK, N. Creeting.

He was turned out by the Earl of Manchester in 1644 for observing the orders of the church; railing against the parliament, saying, "they were going to root out Popery and bring in the Devil, but he had rather have the former than the latter." He was ejected as a loyalist.

FOKES, Earl Soham.

FRANKLIN, W. Flowton.

FREEMAN, Occold.

GATFORD, L.—B. D. Dennington.

He was seized by Oliver himself and carried up to London and imprisoned. He was banished for seven years for his loyalty. The soldiers seized his wife then living in a thatched cottage in the parish with five little children, and tied lighted matches between her fingers to torture and make her tell where her husband had gone. He was a very learned worthy man and outlived his troubles by living to the Restoration. On appearing once before the Tryers for a living, (persons appointed by parliament to examine ministers,) and being asked one of their common canting questions, viz. when he was converted, he wittily replied "when the Puritans turned rebels." This cost him the living, for they immediately rejected him.

GEARY, T. Bedingfield.

GEAST, St. Margaret's, Ipswich.

He was a long time imprisoned for loyalty. And during this time counted the words of the cove-

* *D'Aubigne's Reformation*, b. 2.

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nant which amounted to 666, the number of the beast in the Revelations—a curious anecdote, which shews the strong excitement to which men's feelings and thoughts were raised by the violence of their opponents.

GERNONS, L.—D. D. *Glemford.*

GIBBONS, W. *Bealings.*

GIBBS, F. *Hesett and Boxhead.*

GILBERT, R. *Flixton.*

His wife and himself were in great poverty. He got nothing from the living. A common case.

GILPEN, *Weston.*

GOADE, *Hadley.*

GOODWYN, N. *Crasford.*

He was treated with great cruelty and compelled to live in a little barn with his wife and five children for two years in a secluded wood, where he kept a small school. One *Swain* served the living and had seven or eight others at the same time. His business was to preach in each twice every day! Such was the Puritan reformation.

GOODRICH, R. *Horringer.*

He suffered much and left a widow and six children in miserable circumstances.

GOSNALL, P. *Bradford St. Clare.*

GONGE, *Framlingham.*

GOULTY, R. *ditto.*

GOULTY, W. *Walton.*

Sequestered by a committee on trial, but as he still continued malignant i. e. loyal, he was ejected altogether. He urged the necessity of parochial communion on his people, and refused to preach twice a day. So says the charge.

GRIGGE, S. *Whitton cum Thurston.*

HART, R. *Hargrave.*

HILL, *Shordon.*

HIND, *Whepstead.*

HALT, *Stonham Aspal.*

He had been F. of St. John's Cam. and was recommended as a learned pious man by that College to the patron of the living. He rebuilt much of the parsonage, but loyalty was impiety in the eyes of the committee at Bury and he was forced to fly into Norfolk, where he died.

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HONEKIN, T. *Palgrave.*

JEWELL, St. Mary's, *Bury.*

KEBLE, W. *Ringshall.*

A man eminent for piety, learning, and clerical demeanour, was rector of Ringshall, B.D. and fellow of Bennet College, Cam.* He was born in Old Newton, and his father Mr. Keble had property in that parish. *Thos. Tyrell*, esq. of Gipping-hall married Anna the daughter and heiress of Wm. Keble, esq. of *Stowmarket*, and became patron of the living of Ringshall, then a valuable preferment of £120 per annum. Mr. Tyrell presented Mr. Keble to this living, his nephew probably by marriage, and Dr. K. remained there until July 30, 1644, when he was ejected by the Presbyterian party for loyalty to the king, attachment to the church, and opposing by his conversation the rebellion. His reported remarks made to the Earl of Manchester, or the parliamentary committee sitting at Bury were, that “the party railed at the Pope, and yet are Popes themselves, doing what they list. If a cobler or a tinker get into the pulpit and preach four or five hours for the parliament, these are the men now a-days. It was a sin to rebel.” He also had pamphlets in his house against the parliament, but none for them! Yet these were the men who arrogated to themselves all the piety in the nation, all the charities of the gospel, and whose divinity becomes the favourite theological study of the Presbyterian party in the church and out of it, in our own times. Many of the clergy were then turned out because they could not preach without a book, and were “mere reading Parsons.” Every mechanic who could utter any kind of nonsense without having it written, was preferred to the most learned and pious man, whose habits of thought had led him to express himself freely on paper and not by his unwritten discourses. The delivery of written or precomposed sermons without referring much to the paper, is, it is true, the ancient, the best,

* Rev. C. Parker, rector of Ringshall, M.S. and Walker
245.

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and the most Catholic method of preaching. But we have to thank this period of violence, and these very men for its general disuse in the Church of England. Before the Puritan period, which begins with Elizabeth, pulpit discourses were generally delivered either from notes or by precomposed sermons committed to memory. The rule then was to enter the pulpit without being tied to a book, the exceptions were indulged in reading from the paper. The disgust created by the fluent impieties, the rhapsodies, absurdities, and cruelties of the dissenters was so great at the Restoration, that the delivery of a discourse without reading appeared to savour of the Presbyterian, Independent, and party factions, and this mode of preaching was generally laid aside. Before Dr. Keble was turned out he had been twice plundered of his horses by the Parliamentarians, who as the rector would neither pray, preach, nor converse on their side, took them to mount their cavalry against his lawful king. In Feb. 1659 he died, being 81 years old, but had he lived a little longer the restoration of the king would have replaced him in possession of his living.

KELLO, _____?

KEY, E. Sotherton and Tunstal.

He preached in his surplice and tippet amongst other so called evil doings!

KING, H. Haddenham.

KING, N. Friston and Snape.

LARGE, R. Charsfield.

LINDSHALL, S. Stratford.

He said THE FACTIOUS MINISTERS WERE THE TRUMPETS OF WAR—a most pithy and true declaration of the cause that overthrew the church. She fell before the treachery, folly, and low church views of the Puritan clergy within her own communion; without these men, the war would have been terminated in six months, and their strength lay in these Eastern counties. From them the sinews of war were obtained. And without the money of these six associated counties, the parliamentary forces must have

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been disbanded after the first year. Hence came such fierce persecutions upon the loyal clergy and their families in Suffolk.

LOWES, Branston or Brandeston.

Hung at Bury as a wizard.*

MASON, Stansfield.

MATHEWS, Erwarton.

MAYOR, E. Finningham.

He lost also a small estate. He prayed that God would increase the king's forces, consequently he was turned out on the usual charges.

NASE, _____?

T. NEWMAN, Cornard.

His charges were—malignancy, i. e. loyalty—parochial communion, i. e. believing the Sacrament a means of grace—not encouraging his people to contribute to the war, i. e. not rebel—paying obedience to the orders of the church, i. e. being a churchman and not a dissenter—and saying that parliament raised money to pay Pym's debts—which was the truth.

PARSONS, Great Finborough.

"The Rev. P. Parsons was sequestered Feb. 1, 1644 for observing the orders of the church; saying that it was against his conscience to pay the parliament taxes; and for being absent in his Majesty's army."

PEARSON, _____?

PEPPER, South Cove.

Himself, wife and children would have died of want, if it had not been for the charity of Wm. Glover, esq. of Frostenden, who took them into his house. Mr. Pepper ordered himself to be buried near this gentleman as the only testimony of gratitude he could give.

PHILLIPS, Fornham.

PIERCE, Wetherfield.

PLAYTERS, L. Uggeshall.

He was son of Sir Thos. Playters, kt. and bart. They plundered his house in 1642. On demanding their authority, the soldiers replied "PISTOL, the Parson!" and fired two at him. The tythe

* See chapter on witches in Stowmarket.

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was generally taken in kind by the clergy every where. The soldiers turned him out in one hour with wife and children. They took the whole tithe from the parish as it was ready to be brought in. He had concealed 200 pieces of gold in one of his children's graves in the chancel against an emergency. But as these reformers in their zeal against Popery were lowering the chancel and tearing down the rails, they unfortunately pulled up the stone of the little grave and discovered the money. Robbery of the clergy was then robbing the church, and this was no crime in their Table of Commandments. Every piece was taken from him. But he lived to the Restoration and preached every sabbath day in his own church, and enjoyed the family title and estates.

PRATT, W. *Melton*.

He purchased the living—was loyal, and therefore turned out.

PROCTOR, *Straddesthal*.

Amongst other charges he would not allow "godly Mr. Blackaby" father of one of the vicars of Stowmarket to preach in his church.* Every Puritan was a "godly man," and in their peculiar phraseology every other man a nondescript, or profane.

PUCKENHAM, *Stanfield*.RANNEW, J. *Kettlebaston*.

Amongst other charges, he said original sin was washed away in baptism—and so only used the church service, and pronounced the child regenerate through Christ, and therefore the war being as much against the church as the king—he was turned out.

RAVEN, J. *Chattisham and Blakenham*.

A pluralist, malignant, and an Arminian, for he said men might fall from grace—the House of Commons was a school of divinity as well as a political tyranny.

RAY, *Soterton*.RAYMOND, W. *Blyford*.

* See chap. on Mr. B's life.

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RAWLINSON, *Hollesley*.

"Basely turned out of his living after expending 400*l.* in building a new parsonage."

REYNOLDS, W. *Wixoe*.

He called "godly ministers," that is the opposite party, rebels.

ROBINSON, H. *Bessley*.

He said conventicle lecturers in houses and corners were schismatics—therefore they put one of these schismatics in his place.

ROGERSON, T. *Monk Soham*.

He was put under sequestration one year, 1642—his wife and children turned out of doors in the next—and he lived with them in a little cottage on a heath with a countryman for some years "in a low and miserable condition." Their barbarity in this case was refined. They seized all his tithes for the year 1642, and yet distrained his goods for not paying taxes on the tithe which they had taken. He was a favourite with the gentry who petitioned the committee of plundered ministers, testifying his "abilities, orthodoxy, and good life." The winds of heaven were not more deaf than the godly men on the committee to such a testimony. He got no redress.

SAYER, T. *Hasne*.

He was eighty years of age when sequestered, but one of his sins was not having preached for some years past.

SCRIVENER, S. *Westhorpe*.SELLER, J. *Great Welsetham*.SHADLOE, *Beccles*.SHEPHARD, R. *Hepworth*.

He said the parliament were but a company of factious spirits—this truth turned him out. He was restored in 1660 and was a very learned man.

SKINNER, *Laxfield*.SMITH, D. D. *Mendlesham*.SMITH, *Cavendish*.SPARROW, A.—B. D. *Hawden*.STONEHAM, *Eyke*.SUGDEN, R. *Benshall*.

He told his parishioners who went to hear "godly ministers," i. e. Puritans, they went to hear fel-

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lows "pray blasphemy and preach treason"—and from several other instances of malignancy, he was found to be an impracticable loyalist.

SUMPTON, S.—B. D. *Badingham*.

TAYLOR, S. *Wenham Parva*.

His family were so reduced as to be obliged to beg relief from the public charity of the corporation for ministers' widows.

TICKLE, P. *Wallingworth cum Southwold*.

TURNBALL, *Guson*.

TURNER, J. *Reed*.

He was imprisoned several months at Wisbeach, and had a wife and five or six children who were turned out of doors. He was a man of known piety and learning, but loyal.

TYLLOT, T. *Depden*.

His sister says "he was shut up in a close dungeon with several other clergymen, where they were most barbarously treated, having nothing to lie on in the midst of winter, and just enough allowed them to preserve them alive. He was detained in prison nine months. If he had not been removed to another prison where the party imprisoning him had no authority, he would have died." He afterwards kept a private boarding school, but upon Oliver issuing an order that no sequestered minister should do so, he began to starve again. He lived through the troubles and was restored to his livings.

UFFEN, E. *Henstead*.

WALKER, W. *Winston*.

He said the bishops were reverend fathers—that there were godly divines amongst the Papists—he took the covenant with limitations—he drank Prince Rupert's health, &c.

WALKER, *Niniston*.

WARREN, R.—D. D. *Long Melford*.

He was a good man and very charitable to the poor—they plundered him of horses and goods so early as 1641—then interrupted him in divine service, called him a false prophet and compelled him to come out of the pulpit in the middle of his sermon. And as he returned home

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one of the party beat a frying pan before him, crying, "this is your saint's bell."

WARREN, *Drinkston*.

WATSON, T. *Woolpit*:

Dispossessed by the Earl of Manchester himself. He had been served with a notice of sequestration by a parliamentary committee in London. The Earl turned him out because he kept "a godly minister" out of the pulpit, viz. the intruder who wanted his living. When the soldiers came to the rectory his wife cried out "in an outrageous manner, here come the knaves." This became a charge against him, he was therefore plundered and ejected, and died before the Restoration. He was a man of great learning and exemplary life. The three persons in his parish who gave in articles against him became *remarkably decayed* and *came to nothing soon after*. This was often noticed in the persecutors of the clergy everywhere at the time. He had many friends in the parish, and some who opposed the first sequestrators, and took the hats off these officers when they came to the church. For one mark of the "godly Puritans" was always to enter a church with their hats on.

WATTS, R. *Mildenhall*

One of his curates had called extempore prayer *babbling!* The rector they said had a good estate "yet he neither maintained the outward nor comforted the inward man." A curious charge! In all these cases however one crime swallowed up all others—he was a loyal man, therefore malignant, and "a scandalous minister."

WELLS, J. *Shimpling*.

WHITBY, *Earl Stonham*.

He was a diligent preacher. His successor a schoolmaster from Ipswich was struck dumb in the pulpit and left the living.*

WHITING, J. *Hintlesham*.

* See a curious account of the event in *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*.

CLERGY EJECTED.

WICKERBY, D.—B.D. Hemington.
WITHERS, Wetheringsett cum Brockford.

He was violently pulled out of his pulpit "by some of the rascally people of his parish." "He was a good divine, much a gentleman, and a person of great hospitality." Those who got his sequestration in the parish came to nought. A fifth of the living was ordered as usual to be paid by the new incumbent to his unfortunate predecessor. But this was not enforced nor obeyed. This miserable stipend being withheld, the clergy were literally left to starve, or beg, or labour as they could.

In many of the preceding cases on the merest hearsay evidence, the clergyman was pronounced "a scandalous minister," in other words was guilty of some unclerical behaviour, such as tippling, levity, incontinence, &c. But in most of these charges no proof was given, beyond the simple and certain fact of his determined loyalty. When this was proved, no piety however exemplary, no learning however great, no zeal for the gospel however bright, could save the clergyman thus attached to the Apostolic form of church government and the throne, from sequestration. If he did not belong to the school and party of the Puritan divines he had every fault sufficient to deprive him of his living. And if he supported that party he had no criminality that could deprive him of his living, or prevent him from entering upon the best of those from which the Episcopalian clergyman had been ejected. Civil war was carried into private homes, parochial churches, and every village became a scene of strife, by the sword, or through civil persecution.

One hundred and thirty clergymen in this county were turned out of their livings, for loyalty to the crown. Their places were supplied by tinkers, schoolmasters, servants, smiths, labourers, and some pious men of more pretensions to education and learning. It was in reality only a question of party. And as the Republicans were obliged to court the lowest of the populace for their support, these leveling opinions elevated this class without any previous preparation into pulpits, livings, places, and seats of

CLERGY EJECTED.

dignity, where they became tyrannical, and remained as they had always been, vulgar, ignorant men, until the Restoration swept them in a few months out of sight, and into their original condition.

The number in this county great as it may appear, is much below the real number ejected. The difficulty of discovering such records after twenty years of civil war and tumult was very great. The numbers in England and Wales have been stated to be in one account between six and seven thousand, who were turned out to wander where they could, and get their bread as they might. Another fixes it at between eight and nine thousand. When children and wives are added, the whole number of persons reduced from respectability and competence to starvation and pining death, was not less than thirty thousand. Without this great sacrifice, the Republican party could not have carried on the war, or maintained their ground in the nation for twenty years, or have beheaded the king. Nor let it ever be forgotten, that if the clergy of the church had been true to their principles, no such tremendous scourge could have visited this church and nation.

A large body of clergy rejected Episcopacy and embraced Presbyterianism. An absurd dread of Popery, combined with an exclusive Calvinistic contradiction of the gospel salvation, brought about this desertion of the Apostolic principles, precepts, and examples. The ground of controversy between the Church of England and Rome was occupied by fanatics, schismatics, and heresies; and the English church was driven into captivity by her own rebellious children. These in turn fell before that evil seed which desertion of Primitive standards had sown. Whilst Rome whom they had so madly feared, rejoiced in triumph over the religious anarchy which her enemies had caused amongst themselves. Religion became a trade—a cloak for vice, or raving mysticism. Amid this tumult the church of Rome hoped to re-establish her lost dominion in England, and her success was almost realized in the reign of James the Second.

The Dissenters from the English church, by their false position, have weakened the protest against

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Rome. They impede the effects of the Church of England against her novelties. And most unfortunately they have always presented one of the gravest difficulties to thinking minds in that church, for any reformation in herself.*

* Dr. Owen, the celebrated Puritan divine, himself a defender of the Commonwealth and its sins, says, "one thing I must needs trouble you, there are some few men of mean quality and condition, rash, heady, and enimys of tiths, who are the commissions for the ejecting of ministers. They alone sitt and act, and are at this time casting out on slight and trivial pretences very worthy men; one

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in especial they intend next week to eject whose name is Pococke, a man of an unblameable a conversation as any that I knowe livinge, and reputed for learning throughout the world, being the Professor of Hebrew and Arabick in our university, so that they do exceedingly exasperate all men, and provoke them to the height. JOHN OWEN, Oxford, March 20, 1654." [Thurlow's Papers, 5, 281.] The pretended spiritual mindedness of the Nonconformists may be observed in all these papers, for there were no men more active in getting troops of horse and foot to enlist in the service of the parliament or Oliver, than these ministers. They drew the sword in defence of Christ's kingdom with right good will, yet they hypocritically preached that his kingdom was not of this world.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1649 TO 1656.

STATE OF PARTIES.

On the 30th of Jan. 1649 the murder of Charles the First was perpetrated by Cromwell and his officers at Whitehall, and grief and indignation mixed with astonishment pervaded every part of the kingdom. Even the Presbyterian party who had pushed on the whole war, had overturned the church, and driven the king to extremities, now perceived their fatal error. As one of the principal clerical leaders of this body, Dr. Young the vicar, felt the weight of those erroneous principles which he had so strongly advocated. But now it was too late to repent. The Independents with Cromwell at their head were the masters of the nation, and spurned contemptuously from them the foolish inconsistencies of Presbyterian church government. He granted a licentious toleration to the most seditious and the most blasphemous opinions. Two hundred different sects are enumerated, each holding its own opinions, having its own preachers, maintaining their own doctrines and denouncing the 199 others as erroneous. Some of these *religious characters* made it a conscience to resist all payments for clergy or church

STATE OF PARTIES.

—others objected to taxes imposed by the government—and not a few asserted that rent was an unlawful payment, from which the saints were freed. Conscience was here, as it can be now made, a most convenient cloak for dishonesty. The commands of Scripture and the example of the Apostles were alike thrown away on these men, who fancied themselves superior to all divine and human laws. Dr. Young and his party were quite as much, nay even more averse to a toleration than the bishops. Presbyterianism is more intolerant than even Popery itself, and whilst the kirk had the power, they would permit no other body to exist but themselves.

It was necessary in some places upon the news of the king's death arriving, and afterwards during the year, to quarter soldiers and repress any rising tokens of resistance that appeared amongst the Presbyterians or Royalists. This seems to have been done here, as the churchwardens' accounts for 1649 make mention of an extra number of soldiers having been quartered and provided for in the town.* It was

* Stowmarket chest.

ASSIZES IN THE TOWN.

only by the power of the army that a general dissolution of all the elements of society was prevented. Dr. Young was a cautious, prudent man,* but his feelings on this occasion may have urged him to encourage some resistance to Cromwell's advancement. Poverty also added its miseries to the nation, and numbers of Irish, both gentlewomen and men, continued to travel through the town and are mentioned repeatedly in our papers. A great number of poor persons were assisted by the wardens and overseers, so that *one-third* more were relieved now, than in 1641 before the war commenced. This of itself shews us the wretched condition to which the factions had brought the country, when one family in three were reduced to a state of actual pauperism, and compelled to live on the other two.†

Assizes were held in the town in 1648, and the dinners of the high sheriff and the judge were paid for by the town.‡ The town was more populous, and yet much poorer than before. People from a distance who could not live in the country were driven by the extremity of the times to run together, and a vast number of females, as "goody Nobbs, goody Maye, goody Sporlinge, goody Swayne, goody Camplin, goody Sigar, goody Parish, goody Outlaw, goody Hubbard, goody Hanifar," were aided by the rates imposed on the other impoverished inhabitants. Notwithstanding the unsettled condition of the government and nation, the usual officers in towns and parishes were chosen, nor is there any year deficient in churchwarden's accounts, or in the names of those who served the office from June 1560 to the present time. Neither was the fabric of the church altogether neglected, for in 1651 W. Garrard the warden laid out about it 13*s.* 11*s.* 11*d.* In 1655 the whole amount expended, on the church, "Guild-hall," and some other items was 66*s.* 15*s.* 0*d.* whilst in each year *one-half* of the church expenses and some other accounts was paid by Stowupland. This has been the custom from the earliest times, and is noticed in the oldest documents we possess.

The hatred of Popery maintained its ground

* *Introduction to Blackerby's Sermons.*

† Stowmarket chest. ‡ Accounts.

PARISH AFFAIRS.

amongst some of these 200 sects. How many of them were then in our town or Hundred we cannot tell. But probably only five or six, because the influence of vicar Young was considerable, his principles were quite opposed to their existence, and though he disliked a Bishop, yet he abhorred Popery and the toleration of any dissenters but his own party. In 1650 the parishioners burned two loads of wood in a bonfire on the 5th Nov. to shew their dislike of Popery and its practices in the Gunpowder Plot, and this sum of one pound was levied in the annual rates, which proves the general feeling against this sect. They also kept up the rejoicing on this day, and provided the ringers with dinners and money at the cost of the parish (1652).

The chancery court was then as costly a remedy for evil as it is now. The parishioners became involved in a suit with one Blomfield. Mr. Kebble conducted the case. The lawyer's clerks in the office in London were all paid at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* a head. Several horse journeys to London cost respectively ten shillings and eight shillings each, and these could not have occupied less than two or three days. The recorder of London was feed with two pounds, and up to the year 1652, the whole suit had cost the parish 116*s.* 17*s.* 5*d.**

1652] Somewhere about this time Mr. Mich. Flegg a gentleman in the town died and left "the White Lyon inn" to trustees, for the purpose of buying coats for poor men and women at the selection of the vicar and churchwardens. These were originally distributed "about the time of the year of the death of the said Michael Flegg." They were also marked M. F. on the breast in memory of Michael, his piety, and good memory in the town. This charity is still annually distributed.†

The law was enforced by the judges on all occasions which affected public convenience, during these distracted periods. The Uplanders were cited to Bury for not repairing "Gravel-field-lane." They disobeyed the citation and were proceeded against for contempt. The law was not to be resisted with im-

* Accounts Stowmarket.

† Book of charities at vicarage, p. 46.

BARE-BONES PARLIAMENT.

punity. Cromwell had appointed a major-general to each separate district in the kingdom who possessed supreme military authority; and as they dared to disobey, they were fined four pounds for their misbehaviour and compelled to repair the lane.*

1653] Cromwell had now the supreme authority in the nation by possessing the affections and power of the army, but he was too far-sighted a man not to know, that after having turned out the old parliament, beheaded the king, overturned the church, he could not retain this authority long without the act of some national assembly. He therefore issued writs to 128 persons in towns and counties of England, to five in Scotland, and six in Ireland, whom he at Westminster and constituted themselves a parliament. A few gentlemen were amongst this notable assembly. But the main part were mechanics, millenarians, antinomians, and baptists, "the very dregs of the fanatics,"† who commenced their business of the nation by appointing "eight gifted men" as they were termed, to hold forth in extempore prayer. They assumed divine inspiration, and determined to commence most thoroughly the work of England's reformation. To do this effectually, as their principles made them detest the clergy, they abolished tithes because they were an old testament institution—Learning, and therefore universities were pronounced unnecessary and heathenish, and so were decreed to be destroyed. The common law of the land was called a tyranny, and all laws but their own were annulled. They had determined to destroy all the ancient courts of law, and yet with most strange but not singular inconsistency, they spoke of establishing the Mosaic law in Leviticus as the general statute code for the country. Religious dissent, which is but a name for licentiousness in all kinds of religious opinions, presents in its history repeated proofs of the strangest inconsistencies. These alterations were not effected, but a law for taking away any religious function from marriage was passed, and the conversion of that holy and first institution of the Bible into a mere civil

* 13 Nov. 1654. Stowupland chest. 1665. The dyall over the church porch was set up.

† *Hume*, 1653.

BARE-BONES' MARRIAGES.

process by the magistrate was made. This assembly of fanatics is called the Barebones parliament from their leader, who dubbed himself "Praise God Barebones." We have a curious evidence in our parish registers of their proceedings, and of these changes in the ancient laws of nature and the land. They lasted but a short time, during the years 1654, 5, and 6; then Edmund Fferneley, Thomas Tirell, George Groom, and Francis Theobald, *esqrs.* officiated in our parishes, and appear in our books as those who "married the single men and single women together."*

From 1647 to 1653 the marriages were only two and three, and in 1649 and 1650 only one occurred in each year, whilst the *deaths* increased one third. In 1652 these were 32; in 1642, 15; in 1652, 65; in 1653, 61. Other years bear the same proportion. It would be interesting to know if this diminution of the population from the *mental* effects of revolution, and not from the battles in the civil war was general. It is probable this is a general result. Such facts display the secret anguish and that agony of heart which those times produced, in forcible colours. The Puritan school has still a heavy debt of retribution to pay in the third and fourth generation. But is it not a little singular, that this gross fanaticism of the Barebones parliament should have been perpetrated in our times by the Dissenters' Marriage Act?

In 1655 Dr. Young the vicar and celebrated tutor of Milton the poet died. We may readily conceive the grief and indignation with which he must have thus contemplated at the close of his life, the result of his exertions which assisted to destroy that just reverence men ought to have for the church and her institutions, in seeing himself as vicar stripped of his authority by the fanatics he had helped to raise, and who now thrust him out of his sacred office. Yet this is a sure consequence of Presbyterian prin-

* "William Kebble of Stowmarkett beinge according to the act for marriages, births, and burials legally chosen to be a parish register for the Towne aforesaid came before me the 31st day of October, 1653 and tooke his oath to execute the said office according to the said act." EDM. FFERNELEY. [Parish Registers.]

THEIR DISSOLUTION.

ciples. In 1657 matters resumed their ancient channel, and the Rev. J. Treheck and Thomas Colson, clergymen, again unite men and women in holy matrimony.*

Cromwell on the 12th of December dissolved this miserable congregation of contemptible men, by sending Col. White with some soldiers to the house. "What are you doing here?" cried he. "We are seeking the Lord" they replied. "Then you may go elsewhere, he answered, for to my certain knowledge he has not been here these many years." A true and witty answer, shewing the Colonel's opinion of that wretched hypocrisy which had involved the country in bloodshed and misery for thirteen years.†

His policy had been by this assembly, and the terror of those revolutionary opinions which many of the sects advocated, to prepare the way for the assumption of the sole arbitrary authority in his own person. He was a military king in substance and power, but he longed to exchange the helmet of the soldier for a crown, and the sword for a civil sceptre. He determined then on a new election for a free parliament in which he hoped to gain his ends. Our town thus became again after an interval of sixteen years the scene of another of the county meetings, in which members were elected to represent Suffolk in the new parliament.

It was a good custom but had been basely abused by the political hypocrites of those times, for all the electors in their county meeting to assemble at our parish church, and have a sermon preached to them by some celebrated minister. It was not omitted on this agitating and solemn occasion. So much depended upon the constitution of the new parliament, that men's minds were strangely excited to engage in the county elections, with a vast sense of the great responsibility attaching to those who should be elected by their votes.

I have before me a printed sermon of the "Rev. Wm. Gurnall, M.A. of Eman. Coll. now pastor of the church of Christ in Lavenham, Suffolk, preached at STOWMARKET IN SUFFOLK upon Aug. the 20th, 1656; before the election of parliament men for the

* Parish registers.

† Home.

COUNTY MEETING IN STOWMARKET.

same county." It is entitled "the Magistrates Portraiture drawn from the Word" and takes an ominous text for Cromwell's hopes and desires after the crown, and which, as Mr. G. was one of the Presbyterian royalists, was not selected by him without deep meaning, and a strongly implied aversion to the known intentions of the Usurper. He opened his discourse with, "and I will restore thy judges as at first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning."* But there is a most cautious abstinence from any implied desire for the king's restoration. Yet in those heated times men could easily gather from the studied arrangement of the words, what was wished by the heads of the Presbyterian party. Dr. Young the vicar, a more notable man than Gurnall would no doubt have been chosen as the electioneering pilot on this solemn occasion, but he had been removed to his rest on the first of Dec. 1655. His mortal remains then peacefully lay in the midst of this agitated assembly, immediately on the right, and in front of that pulpit from which this deliberate, cautious, discourse was delivered.

1656 Sept. 17] Gurnall was "a famous preacher,"† and celebrated in the neighbourhood. The members returned for the county were—Suffolk—

Sir Hen. Felton, of Playford

Sir Thomas Barnadiston, of Keddington

Henry North, of Wickhambrook, esq.

Edm. Harvey, of Wickhamkeyth, bart.

Edw. Wynie, of Brettenham, esq.

John Sicklemore, of Ipswich, esq.

Wm. Bloyn, of Ipswich, esq.

Wm. Gibbes, of Stoke Nayland, esq.

Robert Brewster, of Wrentham, esq.

Daniell Wale, of Stratford, esq.

Nath. Bacon, esq. M.P. Ipswich

Francis Bacon, esq. ditto

Sam. Moody, esq. M.P. Bury

John Clarke, esq. ditto

Francis Brewster, esq. M.P. Dunwich

Col. John Fothergill, M.P. Sudbury.

} all excluded from
the house because
Oliver feared them
to be his enemies.

* Isaiah i, xxvi,

† M.S. on a copy of sermon. Gurnall was the author of "Christ Vindicated, or the Christian's complete Armour," in 4 vols. One of those Puritan works of the age, so strongly characteristic of the exaggerated and conceited style in which they obscured many excellent thoughts. It is at the same time descriptive of the narrow domineering spirit that injured so greatly their personal characters, and produced such lamentable evils in the church.

COUNTY ELECTION.

The first eight were elected at the county meeting held at Stowmarket on this memorable occasion. On entering the house Cromwell tendered to the members an *Engagement*, in which those who signed it declared that they would maintain the government in his single person, and would not consent to alter it. The two Bacons voted him the title of king, but six of the members refused it, and were excluded from the house.* These men were loyalists and longed for the restoration.†

Mr. Gurnall speaks in very suspicious terms of Oliver's personal government—

"Let us blesse God for a government, as though it should be some of the best. It is a very bad government indeed, that is worse than none at all. If might be right, then right will be wrong, and better poor people should sit under a scratching bramble than have no hedge at all to shelter them from winde and weather, stormes I mean of popular fury."

He had helped to pull down the intolerance of Episcopacy, but he will not allow any other sect but his own to exist. For of the Baptists he says—

"Among other positions of this sect I find this one—that 'tis a mark of Anti-Christ to have in the church, kings, princes, and the sword of the magistrate which Christ (say they) can no way allow in his church. And I wish the sea which runs betwixt that land and ours, had been able to keep this error from setting foot on English ground. They cannot fether their brat upon the scripture. No, 'tis a misshapen brat conceived in the womb of ignorance and begot by pride. Those scholars are the first that would burne their master's rod, who have most need of it." for he charges them with having such vile lusts, that they are not able to bear the magistrates' power.

When touching upon the delicate point of what form of government was to be had, he says, "the world we live in is a muggish and rafty aire—we shall waive the points those considerations would afford us." This was prudent, for Oliver's prisons and fines were dangerous things, and very much inclined to keep watch upon the sermons of eminent ministers on these occasions.

* There is only one other county (Kent) which possessed more loyal men than Suffolk, as no less than six members were excluded in that county from boroughs because it was guessed that they would oppose the Usurper. Some of them signed a bold protest against this act.—*Constitutional History*, v. 21, 15.

† *Archæologia*, 24, 140.

SERMON AT CHURCH.

The assembly was unusually large, the town was crowded with the leading gentry and vast multitudes of people, the church was filled to the doors, "consider, he says, the weight of that work about which from all quarters of this county you are met this day. You trust them (the parliament men) with your purse and I am sure most of you account that something, whatever you think of other things. You trust them with your liberties and lives and those your purses have paid soundly for." He had good reason in saying this in a town which had been so miserably impoverished by taxes for its loyalty to the king. One may fancy what a general nod of assent must have moved all the heads in the church at this passage from the pulpit, when one-third of the population had become paupers during the wars.

"This day (he exclaimed) the temper of this nation will be discovered," (and by this we may conclude that all the elections were ordered by the Usurper to take place at one time, lest concert among the loyalists should defeat his ends, and tidings be carried of the success of the king's party from one county to another)—"no way that I know like this, to feel how its pulse beats."

He argued against the notion which had been so prevalent that because a man could pray extempore therefore he ought to go to parliament—

"You will not put a suit to make, no not a shoe to mend, meerin because he is an honest godlie man, you desire something of the trade in the man, or else you may be pinched for it and gon uneasie."

The radical hypocrisy of thrusting the lowest of the people into places of power was then it seems out of fashion with the Presbyterians, though some years before, none had been louder in exclamations against the pride of lords and bishops. So also the modern dissenting notions of a divorce between church and state found then no favour with any party but the merest fanatics; for

"Consider the care of keeping religion pure in a nation, is part of the Christian magistrate's charge, and not the least—as a ruler (referring to the kings of Israel) to see the law of God kept, and the true religion there command-

* M.S. in parish books and chest

COUNTY ELECTION.

ed, preserved in their kingdom"—if it were the magistrates work then, it continues to be so now, except we can find that Christ hath retrenched their power in matters of religion, which he hath not."

He then quoted the Rev. Dr. Rivet a celebrated Suffolk divine in support of his opinions, which were those of every respectable sect in the kingdom; for no one rejected this scriptural and natural connection but the most contemptible and wildest enthusiasts. He referred also to the origin of many of the dissenters with curious distinctness, by declaring it had long been resolved by the Pope at Rome, "that the surest and speediest way to cheat England of her religion and gospel is to divide the people from their ministers, and that they hold still the same mind." It was affirmed and has been clearly made out, that many jesuits assumed the style and dress of dissenting ministers, and raised congregations, and made new sects, for no other purpose than to weaken the whole body of the people in their attachment to the Protestant religion and church. It is the best plan which the Romish church ever yet devised for her restoration to power. She always prospers when Dissent thrives, nor is there a more certain mode of reducing the nation to the corrupt doctrines of Popery, than by multiplying and strengthening all classes of dissenters. Unity in form as well as essential doctrine is England's security against Rome.*

Immediately after the sermon they proceeded to vote, and elected the before-named gentlemen. The tables for collecting the votes were placed in the open air in the market place, and gentlemen of standing in the county were seated by order of the sheriff at each table to take down the names on paper.† No booths were erected, and great crowding and inconvenience with many interruptions occurred. The "Guild-hall" of the town which stood in the church yard was surrounded by "new rails and postes" and the windows appear to have been broken on this occasion, for "new windowes were provided and the shattered ones repaired by the Wardens." The chairs

COUNTY VOTING.

also suffered and were placed in the hands of the carpenter the next year. Complaints it is likely were made by this vast congregation (2500 people then could stand in the church,) that the preacher was not heard. For a "sound board" was provided by the parish and "set upp" over "the pulpit." They also expended a considerable sum of money in painting and "whitning" the church, and ornamenting the "porches." Years of neglect, of outrage, and fanatical folly, were then only beginning to be remedied by a restoration of the nation to its senses, and of the people to their duty.*

From 1653 during the Protectorate in all the indentures and parish papers there is a deep silence preserved respecting Oliver. The date, instead of mentioning the reigning sovereign with his or her titles, as is the case in all the papers before the death of Charles and after the Restoration, begins with "the year of our Lord God." This is an index of the feelings which pervaded the leading persons here, and how gladly they welcomed back their liege Sovereign Charles the Second.†

* The sermon I quote from is published by R. Smith at the Bible in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, 1656 At the end in a contemporary hand is the character of Mr. Gurnall as "that famous preacher, minister of God's word in Lavenham, Suffolk." In another hand of later date is,

Whose book I am if you would know
In letters two I will you show,
The first is S until I write,
The next is H in all men's site,
And if you chanch not spell a miss
Look downe be low and hear it isse,

SIMON HUNT.

† I give the following curious anecdote taken from the papers of the parish clerk, which belonged to his father and grandfather who held their offices in the church for 100 years. Its date may be about 1745.

Sir,

I send you the following manuscript which I found amongst some old papers as a curiosity. It is not altogether unseasonable at present tho' written so long ago the protectorate of Cromwell, and is ushered in with the following preface, expressing the occasion of it. "To my grandmother Staunton who erected a little closet to hide her common prayer book in to secure it from the Roundheads, with which she acquainted a learned divine who sent her these verses in his exile with a common prayer book in a black velvet cover."

* Nelson's *Introduction*, p. 47.

† Harl. Col. Brit. Mus. b. 1, 165.



Drawing by F. R. Ewer

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Entered by W. H. & C. W. DODS,



CROMWELL.

"Since it has pleased our wise and new-born state
The common prayer book to excommunicate,
To turn it out of all, as if it were
Some grand malignant or some Cavalier;
Since in our churches 'tis by them forbid
To say such prayers as our forefathers did;
So that God's house must now be call'd no more
The house of pray'r as ever call'd before;
As if those Christians were resolv'd to use
That house as ill as ever did the Jews.
I cannot chuse but think it pious care
To build your closet for distressful prayer
Which here in mourning clad presents itself
Begging some vacant corner of your shelf.
A book worth gold if rightly understand,
Compos'd by Martyrs and its seal their blood.

CROMWELL.

Once burn'd by Papists merciless, because
It was repugnant to their Popish laws,
Now by our Zealots 'tis condemn'd to die
Because forsooth 'tis full of Popery;
And thus we see the golden mean defy'd
And thus 'twixt two extremes 'tis crucify'd."

After some more lines he concludes with an earnest wish
for the restoration of king, bishops, and liturgy, as the only
security against "the meanner sort of men" and endless
confusion.

"And that those things may be we'll not despair
All this and more may be obtain'd by pray'r."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE LIFE OF THE REV. DR. YOUNG, VICAR OF STOWMARKET FROM 1628 TO 1655,
AND TUTOR OF MILTON THE POET.

DR. YOUNG.

On the 27th of March, 1628, "Mr. Thomas Younge" was instituted to the united vicarages of St. Peter and St. Mary in Stowe, on the presentation of Mr. John Howe, a gentleman then residing in the town, and a man of wealth, whose ancestors had been great cloth manufacturers in this place and neighbourhood.* The living was worth £200 per annum, which was considerable preferment in those times and equal to £600 a year now. This celebrated person was one of those puritan divines, whose efforts in concert with the republican politicians of the lower house resulted in overthrowing the church and monarchy. His learning was profound, and from the character of his mind became severe and polemical. He wrote not so much as a disciple of truth without prejudice, as of truth with a party: His attachment to Presbyterianism was so determined that before its supposed divine rights he willingly assisted in sacrificing the peace, order, stability, and well-being of

MILTON.

the throne and church. To judge of him by his scanty remains, we must pronounce him like his pupil John Milton, a republican in politics, and a Calvinistic dogmatist in theology. Nor is it easy to separate the kindred sympathies of the Presbyterian form of religion from the Republican form of state government. If Milton was indebted to Dr. Young for his first acquaintance with poetry of which the pupil is so mighty a master, we shall not be wrong I think in attributing much, perhaps most of the poet's political sins to his early connection with this influential clergyman, to whom he did not unwillingly afterwards express his numerous obligations.* In his letters,† Milton expresses his grateful sense of the numerous favours he had received from his tutor. The terms are larger and more comprehensive than if only the portal of the classics had been opened to

* See a Latin Ode to Dr. Young in Sir Egerton Bridges' Life of Milton.

† See Appendix.

TUTOR OF MILTON AND LETTERS.

him by Dr. Young's learning. He may refer to mental and moral impressions made upon him by his instructions, when in his youthful prime he was prepared to receive the first impulse, and thenceforward in his temperament those stern principles which guided his future course throughout the stormy political ocean of Charles's reign. The regal mind of our great poet surprises us with the unnatural convulsions into which we find it thrown in defence of a severe and cruel republicanism. There cannot be a greater contrast between the poetry of Paradise, and the fierce scurrility of those political writings which proceeded from the same pen. Let any one contrast his sensations in wading across a deep and filthy ditch, with what he would feel when enjoying the stateliness of a royal palace amid the most delicious mountains, and he will be able to form some conception of the change he must experience, in descending from the poetry of the pupil of Dr. Young to the prose of his political pamphlets.

Where Dr. Young was born is uncertain. One of Milton's biographers terms him contemptuously "a puritan who cut his hair short," and Essex from some other notes appears to have been his native county. Religion was made by his party to consist in a long sour face, a peculiarity of phraseology, short smoothed down hair, a drawling tone of voice, a solemn gait, and a dissatisfied tone of mind with every existing thing around them. To the real puritan the sun-shine was in fault, and the sprightliness of the birds unmusical, cheerfulness was not made for man, and the gospel was gloomy resignation but not exhilarating peace. Whether Dr. Young participated to the largest extent in these unnatural and unscriptural opinions is doubtful. But enough remains amongst very brief memorials to show, that as he was naturally of a severe and melancholy temperament, so these peculiarities pervaded much of his temper and writings. His portrait at the Vicarage possesses the solemn faded yellowness of a man given to much austere meditation, yet there is sufficient energy in the eye and mouth to show as he is preaching in Geneva gown and bands, with a little Testament in

VISIT OF MILTON TO STOWMARKET.

hand, that he is a man who could both write and speak and think with great vigour.

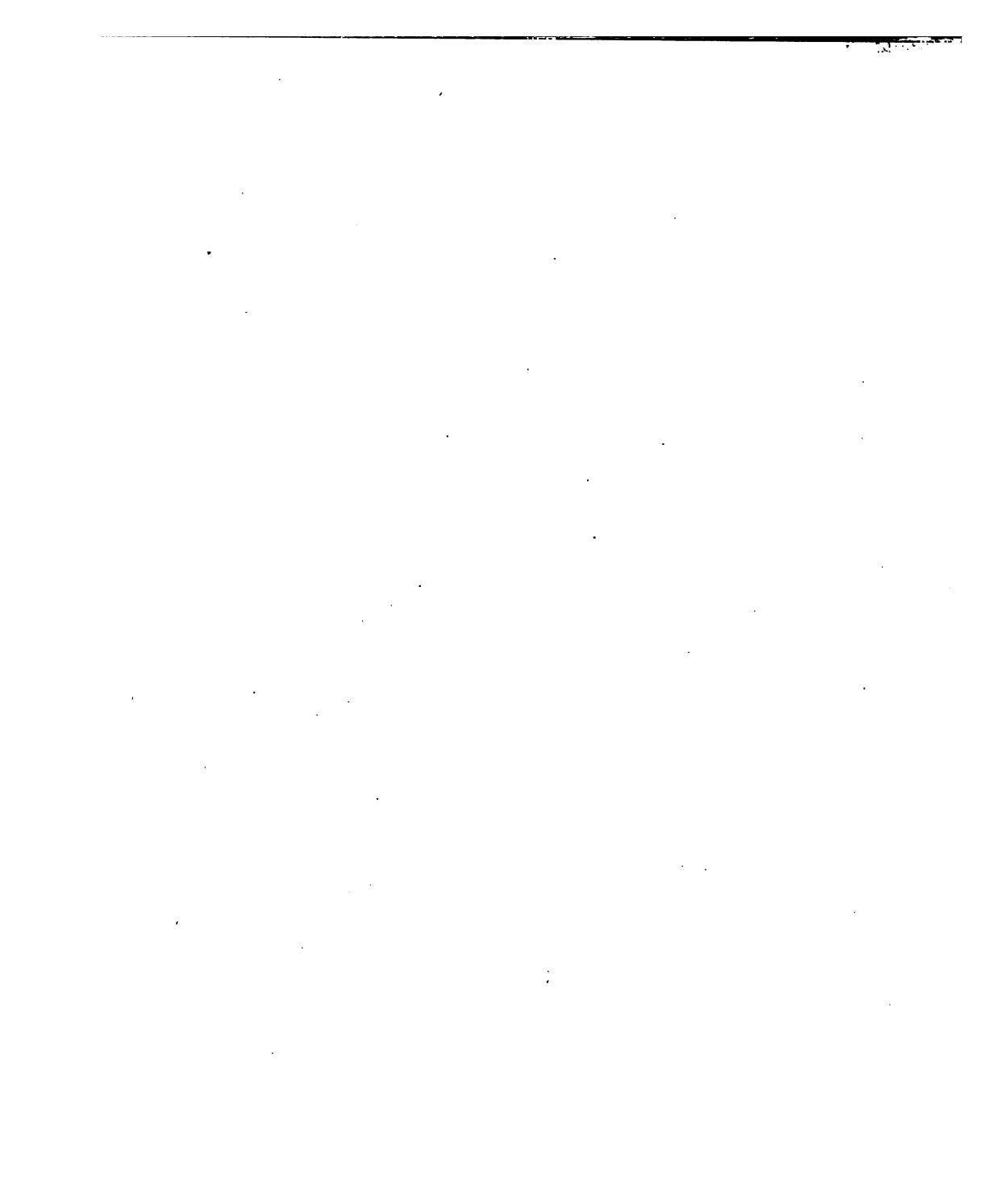
In 1623 his tutorship of Milton must have terminated, for the latter was admitted a pensioner at Cambridge on the 12th Feb. 1624.* In March, 1623, we find Milton writing to him from Cornhill, London, and addressing him whilst abroad. But it is an error to conclude that the tutor remained in that city as chaplain to the merchants until 1640.† In 1628 we have seen him instituted to these livings, and he must have remained generally in constant residence, because we possess his signature to the vestry accounts in a curious quarto book, which contains the annual expenses of Stowupland parish for 84 years. At the parish meetings and at the audit of each year's accounts, Vicar Young presided with some exceptions from the year 1629 to 1655, and his autograph is attached to each page.‡ In 1628 a few months after his presentation to this benefice by the Presbyterian patron Mr. Howe, Milton wrote again to him from Cambridge, in Latin, and accepted an invitation to Stowmarket.|| The poet had now completed his studies, and in July of this year paid his first visit to his old tutor. One letter only remains§ of this period, but from the long connection of Dr. Young with the parish and his continued residence here, it is not unlikely that several, if not many visits extending over a period of nearly 30 years whilst his tutor held the living, were made by the poet to this place. Tradition has constantly associated his name with the mulberry trees of the vicarage which he planted, but of these one only remains. This venerable relic of the past is much decayed, and is still in vigorous bearing, although many limbs have fallen from its trunk. Its girth before it breaks into branches is ten feet, and I have had in one season as much as ten gallons from the pure juices of its fruit, which

* Todd's Life.

† Symond's Life of Milton.
April 23—1633—1634—1636—1637—1652—17 April 1655.

‡ "Ab urbano strepitu subducam me paulisper, Stowam tamen
Icenorum,—ubi tu in re modica regio sane animo veluti
Gerranus aliquis aut Curius, in agello tuo placide regnas."
"July."

§ See Appendix.





MILLION'S MULBERRY TREE.

L. G. & J. O'F. KELLOGG.

Printed by Wm. Maynor.

MILTON'S MULBERRY TREES.

yield a highly flavoured and brilliant coloured wine. It stands a few yards distant from the oldest part of the house, and opposite the windows of an upstair double room, which was formerly the sitting parlour of the vicar, and from whence a trap door led into the kitchen, for the latter apartment is never forgotten even by divines and poets. (*see vignette.*)

In 1639 the vicar published a thin quarto in Latin called *Dies Dominica*, containing a history of the institution of the sabbath, and its vindication from all common and profane uses. There is no place of publication named. The signature is feigned, Theophilus Philo-Kvriaces *Lonardiensis*, and in my copy is added in characters by no means unlike the hand-writing of the vicar himself—*Dr. Thos. Young of Jesus.** The tractate is a very elaborate and learned compilation of authorities from the Fathers upon the sanctity of the sabbath. A spirit of laborious and determined energy pervades it, nor is it unworthy of the abilities and erudition of the author. This work was written here, and may have been published in Ipswich. Its paper and type are coarse, the necessity for concealing the name of the author was necessary, because published at a time when the sabbatarian question became a test of party attachments, and most unhappily the man who attended exclusively to religious duties on that day was suspected of being disloyal to his king and an enemy to the church. A publication which did much mischief to the royal cause had then also been printed, and some of its chapters were written and agreed upon most probably in this vicarage. This was *Smectymnus*, a violent pamphlet against Episcopacy, and a promoting cause of its downfall. The name was fancifully made up from the initial letters of the names of its five au-

* He gives some of his reasons for the treatise in the dedicatory epistle.

"Tertio non intempestivum esse iudico in deplorando hoc Ecclesiae statu huic solennitati adornanda operam navare; idque duplice nomine: primo quia abominanda, et Christiano nomine indigna, Dominica diei violata sanctissimum Dei omnipotens cultum impiorum exponit ludibriis: aliquo hinc, hinc omnis miseria, quâ obscuratum Ecclesia decus corruit, effusit inundatio. Eheu! quantum squalore, quantisque miseriis Ecclesie facies, quondam splendidissima et felicissima, ubique gentium jam obscuratur!"

CALAMY AND MARSHALL.

thors, who were *Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, William Spur-stow*. Of these, Dr. Young and Mr. Newcomen were Suffolk men, and all were in habits of intimacy with each other. The latter preached sometimes at the Thursday lecture in the town.* Nor is it improbable that in this congenial society, and with such kindred political friends, Milton may have frequently spent many of his most delightful days, whilst they in table talk with the greatest poet may have enjoyed some of those bright gleams of thought that were far removed from the turbulent atmosphere of their present designs, and which afterwards visited him in his retirement and solitude.

Calamy and Marshall preached constantly before the House of Commons and had plate voted to them.† They were the "trumpets of the war."‡ The last also debated against Episcopacy, and though our vicar's name is not preserved, yet as seven or eight of the leading ministers were with him (whose names because they did not speak are lost,) so it is not unlikely he was at Uxbridge to assist by the perversion of his learning, the more ready tongue of his Essex brother Marshall.|| Milton joined this party he says § to assist them with his great erudition against the church divines who over-matched them. But it is evident in the vicar of Stowmarket there was no want of power to apply to this armoury.

Mr. Marshall obtained the signatures of many ministers to a petition against Bishops by getting them to sign one against some obnoxious canons. Then cutting off their signatures, he attached them to the former violent declaration against Episcopacy. On finding out this "godly" cheat they remonstrated and were going to expose him; but he imposing on the usual silly good nature of the clergy persuaded them off this course.|| There is no serious plot or movement against the church in all this early part of the war, in which these five men are not concerned either together or separately.

Mr. Calamy visited Stowmarket and its vicar in

* See page 146.

† Nanson, 2, 56. ‡ Ibid b. 7.
|| Ibid, b. 8. § Tracts. ¶ Clarendon b. 3.

RELIGIOUS PARTIES.

1644, in company with Hopkins the witch-finder general. At their instance Mr. Lowes a clergyman was hanged, he is sneeringly described by Baxter as "an old reading parson,"* because he had not the knack of delivering sermons extempore. This scandalous rogue Hopkins was not received in every town, for in some places the Incumbent preached against him. Here however Dr. Young as one of the five pillars of puritan dissent gave him a cordial welcome, it being a consequence of both Popery and Dissent to create superstition, and become the dupes of its devices.†

In 1641 the standard of civil war was raised on both sides, and the calamities of successful rebellion began to afflict an unhappy nation. The loyal party in this town could not have been slow in perceiving the principles of their vicar, and would not have been passive if they could have helped the king.‡ The surplice and bowing at the name of Jesus were two of those tests which evidenced the feelings of each side. Those of the clergy who complained most eagerly of this ancient church vestment, were the prime leaders in the movement against Episcopacy and Monarchy. For a short time the vicar succeeded in laying it aside, and doubtless never consented to bend his head at that hallowed Name before which every knee should bow, and before whom he would have bowed low in heaven. Yet here on earth the fanatical folly of faction could so blind them as to refuse this public recognition of their Saviour's divinity and power. Although the parishioners could not bend his neck, the loyalists and wardens were determined to cover the shoulders of his curate with the symbol of church authority, and as it was still dangerous to resist, they bought a new surplice in which the clergyman officiated on the Sunday. In two or three years after, the dissenting party prevailed, and this very garment with its tippet were sold as contemptible bits of linen by the dissenters, and the proceeds carried to parish account.||

* Hutchinson's *History of Witches*, p. 61.

† See chapter on Witches, p 170.

‡ Parish papers.

|| Accounts C. W. chest, 1645. Stow received for the half pte of two surplices and a tippet, 0l. 9s. 3d.—Upland.

MILTON'S ODE TO HIM.

At this period between 1638 and 1641 we may place with some truth his retreat to Germany, and his having acted in Hamburgh as chaplain to the English factory. His books and pamphlets had made his name known, and if he had remained a prosecution in the Star chamber and imprisonment must have been the result.* Milton refers to this exile in his Latin Elegy—

" Meantime alone
Thou dwell'st, and helpless in a soil unknown;
Poor, and receiving from a foreign hand
The aid denied thee in thy native land."

Was the living then under sequestration during his flight? This is probable. He was married at the time and had several children.

" Him, entering, thou shalt haply seated see
Beside his spouse, his infants on his knee,
Or turning page by page, with studious look,
Some bulky father, or God's holy book."

Doubtless referring to the *Diea Dominica* published in 1639. Milton had not then seen him for two years, which if he fled in 1638, (as his signature is attached to the parish accounts of 1637) will bring Milton here again in 1638, as well as in 1629. It is evident from these and similar expressions that their intimacy and intercourse were frequent, and before this critical period, as well as after, Milton and Dr. Young were often together.

1643] He was now preacher at Duke's place, London, and his name was therefore in the list of the leaders of that Ecclesiastical Revolution which had been effected in the nation. There is a sermon preached by him before the House of Commons (Feb. 28th, 1644) and printed by an order of the House entitled "Hope's Encouragement," which is but one of those numerous incentives to a perseverance in the war against the king, so common amongst the religious leaders of the rebellion.†

" I appoint Ralph Smith to print my sermon,
THOS. YOUNG."

Which was therefore done at the signe of the Bible in Cornhill neare the Royal Exchange, 1644.

* *Suffolk Garland*, 280, which is evidently wrong in placing it between 1638 and 1640.

† *Suffolk Garland*, p. 279.

SERMON BEFORE THE HOUSE.

He dedicates it to the Commons—and signs
 "THOS. YOUNG,
 S. Evangelii in Comitatu Suffolciensi
 Minister."

The text is Psalm xxxi, 24. The Sermon "Hope's Encouragement" It is a very prolix, learned, somewhat dull, and heavy effort to encourage them to persevere in their civil war against the king. There is much less of faction in it than in many others, and it is rather the production of a contemplative, than of an active partisan. One of his examples is from 2 Sam. xiii, 28, where the command of Absalom was to kill the king's son. "Could the command of a *mortal man* infuse that courage and valor into the hearts of *his* servants as to make them adventure upon a *desperate* designe? and shall not the command of the *Almighty God* raise up the hearts of *his* people employed by him in any work to which *he* calls them, raise up their hearts in following of his command?" The work they were called to was described by him in the new name he attached to them, "THIS WAS THE REFORMING PARLIAMENT." He urged on them by the example of the Emperors the necessity of maintaining the doctrine of the Trinity uncorrupt, and this by the authority of the civil power. The most intolerant Romanist could not speak with steadier determination upon the importance of the civil sword [defending the doctrine and power of the church, than does this Presbyterian. But he could not perceive that having departed from the Episcopal foundation of divine right, he was no better than any Anabaptist or Independent Dissenter. He urged on them personal holiness, that the reformation of the church might be effectually undertaken, which was not a little necessary, when we remember the secret vices of some of the more notable leaders in that famous assembly. The two legislative enactments he wished them to pass were, to confer a power on the Presbyterian clergy to exclude men from the sacrament—and a better observance of the sabbath day.*

* The sermon is scarce, but is found bound up with others preached at the monthly fasts before the House of Commons in the library at Cambridge, Fp. 17, b. 4.

DR. YOUNG MASTER OF JESUS COL. CAMB.

In 1643 the Earl of Manchester ejected many clergymen from their livings who were royalists, or as "scandalous ministers" (such was the cant of party,) in these counties. The leading Nonconformists were by the same excellent authority not unwillingly placed in their benefices. Amongst the latter was the vicar of Stowmarket. On April 12, 1644, he was inducted by the Earl to the mastership of Jesus College, Cambridge, on the forcible removal of Dr. Richard Sterne from that office. This learned divine with other companions in misfortune was treated with great cruelty and greater indignity. Forced on ship-board in the Thames, they were compelled to solicit for the preservation of their lives, having been deprived of home, station, fortune, and preferment, because of their loyalty to the king and conscientious attachment to the church.* Let any one who thinks favourably of Presbyterianism, Independency, or Dissent, observe the tendency of such principles in these authentic sufferings, and then remember the divine words, "by their fruits ye shall know them"—and support them if he can. On placing Dr. Young in his new seat at the point of the sword, the Earl said, "you are to obey him although not admitted according to the statutes, because the statutes themselves want reformation."† He held this mastership with the vicarage of these livings until 1654, when on his refusal of the engagement Oliver's government deprived him of the official dignity. This great genius had then deceived, betrayed, and was prepared to trample on those elements of power which he had employed for his sole elevation. Dr. Young retired to his vicarage in this town a disappointed and dejected man. Twenty years of successful violence against the mitre and crown now ended in a gloomy tyranny of one person, a usurper; and in the toleration of irreligion under its worst form, that impious mask of individual inspiration which any one who thought proper to claim it might assume. He had been also named as one of the assembly of Westminster divines, but he did not take any very active part (it is said by some authori-

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 146.

† *Ibid.*

ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.

ties) in that notorious and most mischievous collection of misguided men. Two great evils originated with this assembly. The national covenant became imposed as a bond of political association, and made many men hypocrites, and more rebels. And secondly, a system of cruel, fanatical, and unscriptural examination was instituted by certain men called "Tryers" upon all those who were admitted to or possessed livings, which plunged innumerable innocent families into abject poverty and distress. The National Covenant was taken at Ipswich by two of the wardens in the parish, the others observed an ominous silence on the subject.* The vicar's influence was thus exerted in behalf of this subscription to the downfall of the Episcopal church. A great outcry against the church had been her pluralities. But here we have Dr. Young one of the great leaders of this outcry, himself holding in plurality the mastership of the college and the vicarage of this town. Those who composed the assembly of the divines, (1642 & 3) were nominated by the members of each county sending in such names as appeared to them best suited to form the conclave.† But care was taken to admit only about twenty persons really respectable for learning, orthodoxy, and moderation. The rest were men committed by the most headlong acts to the blind vehemence of party spirit, and came pledged to abolish Episcopacy. About 120 were nominated, and 60 generally sat and answered to their names, "some were infamous in their lives and conversations"—others "had mean parts in learning"—and "of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of England."‡ The Vicar it is said was chairman sometimes, but this is somewhat doubtful. He was a "prudent" man,§ and could foresee that a time of retribution would arrive for those, who were thus so active in the cruel energy of depriving loyal ministers of their livings, and therefore might abstain himself

ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.

from personal activity in the cause. Or he may have disapproved of these violent measures. We can hardly suppose him to have opposed them by a total absence from this assembly and its religious acts. Cool, reflective, and sagacious, he did not possess the forward volubility of Mr. Marshall, or the wearisome wordiness of Dr. Calamy. But as the old friend of Milton and the associate of the leading Presbyterians, his counsels were sought by the party, and it would seem they often acted precipitately and contrary to his advice.

In Feb. 1646, his son Thomas Young died (of small pox?) and was buried in the churchyard.*

1649] A remonstrance against the Engagement was printed by Dr. Young and some other divines under the title of "The humble Proposals of Sundry Learned and Pious Divines within this kingdom concerning the Engagement intended to be imposed on them for their subscriptions."* The regal Presbyterians opposed this change of the thousand years of monarchy into an unscriptural and unnatural Republic, and others resisted the tyranny of one usurper, but all in turn suffered ejection from state offices if they refused to subscribe. Dr. Young's reasons were that no full effective consent of people had been given, they admitted the principle that "the original of all fresh power is the people," which is contradicted by Scripture and natural religion, and was and is still the great moving power in effecting all violent revolutions and rebellions. 2. That by it they should violate their power and oaths to the king and the covenant. 3. That it would "minister matter of general scandal and offence to multitudes of men." It contains only five pages, but is pregnant with a calm sensible protest against the new republic. The departure from good principles carried with it fatal consequences, the offspring of the dragons teeth when once sown are sure to rise up again as armed men. Those who sat in the assembly of divines visited their parishes occasionally but not constantly.

* C. W's Accounts.

† Two divines approved for Suffolk,—

Mr. THOMAS YOUNG of Stowmarket,
Mr. JOHN PHILIPS of Rentall.

"Assembly of Divines"—Collection of Tracts Brit. Mus.
† Clarendon, b. 5. § See next chapter.

* Parish Register.

† Lond. 1649—*Brit. Mus.* The Engagement was "I, A. B. declare and promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established without king and house of lords, or in one person, &c."

MILTON'S BLINDNESS.

Their time was much occupied with the theological frivolities as well as the insignificant utilities of that famous assemblage. Dr. Young therefore kept a curate during this period (1643 to 1653). His signature does not appear attached to the vestry accounts, but the signatures of various persons who I presume are his substitutes, and thus his visits to Stowmarket though annual were probably during summer. What more likely than that Milton should have often come down to obtain the refreshing pleasures of conversation with his old tutor?

[1660] On Nov. 14, in this year he refused the engagement and was therefore ejected from his mastership of the college. But he certainly was not averse to the covenant as is stated in the register of the college, for the Wardens of Upland who seem to have been much devoted to him took the national covenant at Ipswich, and charged the expense in their parish accounts which he generally signed.*

In 1653, long before the death of the Protector, Milton was blind, and must have been in this helpless state for some time, since the circumstance excited an interest for him on the continent amongst foreigners.† But although blind he was employed to turn treatises and state papers into Latin. The Swedish ambassador complained of fourteen days delay he had suffered because "one Mr. Milton a blind man," wanted an armanuensis to read the treaty to him that he might Latinize it, and then he also objected to receive it, because the reader might have changed its sense. He thought it extraordinary that

HIS VISITS.

only one man, and he blind, could be found to act as Latin secretary to the Protector. They answered that some of their servants who could have done it were absent. But the incident is curious, and exhibits either great lack of learned men at Oliver's court, or great perverseness in Milton in not permitting some one to write for him.*

How often did the poet Milton sit in these rooms and visit this old vicarage? is a question which must occur to every one who peruses the preceding outline of Dr. Young's employments and connections. The Vicar was married, and therefore could command more of the comforts of home than a solitary bachelor. His wife did not die till April, 1651.† The poet's family were familiar with this part of Suffolk, and his brother Sir Christopher, who was a staunch loyalist and a barrister, lived and died at Ipswich only twelve miles from this town, between which places there has been from the earliest times constant daily intercourse. Milton died in 1674, and was buried in St. Giles' Cripplegate, but to the end of his life his brother used to visit him from Ipswich. The journey was probably made by this excellent man in a day coach which then left the town with regularity at twelve o'clock in the day, and slept it is presumed on the road. The old associations of the poet were thus kept up in connection with the county, long after the death of his early friend and tutor, which occurred in December, 1655.‡ I believe that the poet must have held very frequent intercourse with the vicar, and may have been often in Stowmarket. He was acquainted with many of the state secrets of the Commonwealth under Oliver as Latin secretary, and although his extreme opinions had carried him beyond the Presbyterian desires of Dr. Young, yet their early friendship was not interrupted. Milton employed his influence to obtain compositions for loyalists. He thus freed his brother Christopher from danger, who was as much attached to Charles

* Clarke's *Lives—Life of Palmer*. T. Young's signature is to the accounts of 1652.

† I cannot discover anywhere in the college the slightest memorial of Dr. Thomas Young. Our library, though particularly rich in remains of that date, is equally unproductive. The M.S. history of the college by Sherman contains the bare notification of his accession to the mastership, with an allusion to the appearance of his initials in the Smectymnuus. He is called vicar of Stowmarket." Communicated from Rev. F. J. C., by the Rev. H. S. Anders, curate of Stowmarket.

‡ Vous avez en Angleterre un aveugle nomme Milton qui a le renom d'avoir bien écrit. The writer then compares him with a Sir Blondel, who was also a famous writer and blind in Holland, and who had un salarie de 360 francs. *State Papers, Thurlow i*, 281.

* Whitelock's *Mem* 633.

† "Mrs. Rebecca Younge the wife of Dr. Young, clerke was burried the 25th day of Aprill, 1651." *Parish Reg.*

‡ "Dr. Younge, clerke was burled the first day of Decem-
ber, 1655." *Parish Reg.*

DR. YOUNG'S ILLNESS.

and monarchy as John had been to the severe cruelties of Republican principles.

The last signature of the Vicar in the annual account book of the parish is in the spring of this year, when there is a marked difference in the trembling letters of the name from the early vigour of the same hand before the breaking out of the civil war and its disastrous issue. The church and vicarage were left by Dr. Young in a state of considerable dilapidation. His successor received assistance from the parishioners in repairing the parsonage, and they had to levy heavy money payments for the restoration of the former to a condition of tolerable decency. It is likely that the Vicar Young had lost all influence in the parishes. He had been a pluralist, and much of a non-resident for many years, and people began very soon to perceive that in reforming the church such divines required reformation and a strong hand over themselves. We must not however blame him too severely, he had no private fortune, his party tolerated many of the scandals against which they had exclaimed most loudly when destitute of power, and his tithe from the confusion of the civil war was no doubt much in arrear. Hence came a ruinous vicarage to his successor.*

He is called in the year 1674 by the Rev. Richard Janning an ejected rector of *Combe*,—and the Rev. John Fairfax the notorious ejected Rector of *Barking*, two neighbouring parishes, “*the reverend, learned, orthodox, prudent, and holy Dr. Young.*† These gentlemen were unhappily for themselves two of the recusants to the act of uniformity, and were in habits of intimacy with the Vicar during the latter part of his life. Their testimony to the excellency of his character may be admitted with pleasure. We

HIS DEATH.

have to lament, as he did, the results to which his mistaken principles of church government conducted him, and the errors of different kinds which all those sooner or later must commit, who abandon Apostolical Episcopacy for the crude novelties of man's recent inventions.

When he died his epitaph was inscribed with some care by a friendly hand, and an unwilling admission is made of the opposition he had encountered. It is now illegible, and some of its lines appear to have been carefully erased. But the following copy is taken from one made many years since, when the epitaph was fresh and legible. He lies on the right and in front of the present reading deak in the middle aisle. *Requiescat in pace.*

“Here is committed to earth's trust
Wise, pious, spotless, learned dust,
Who living more adorned the place,
Then the place him, such was God's grace.

To	D. D. Mem. of Je Coll Camb.
THOS. YOUNG	A member of Y late assem. Pastor here An. 28.
	Died An { Etatis 68 Xti 1655 Nov. 28.

Who, with his deare wife and eldest
son, Tho. Young M.A. and President
of Je Coll. Camb, lyen here expect-
ing Y Resvrectiōn.”

Is the verse of this epitaph from Milton's pen or not? The probability is quite in favour that the pupil should write the last memorial of one whom he so highly honoured and loved as his old master. Nor is the verse itself with the exception of the last line unlike the character of Milton, and this last may have been mutilated and rendered inharmonious by the stone cutter, who has also confused the death of the father and son.

* Parish papers passim in 1660 and following years.

+ Prefatory Letters to *Blackerby's Sermons*.

CHAPTER XXIX.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1658 TO 1674.

NATIONAL PARTIES.

ON the 3rd of Sept. 1658 Cromwell died, after a long and ineffectual struggle in mind and body with his disorder. On his decease Richard his son was proclaimed Protector in every part of England. He was a man of no capacity for such a charge, and the best act of his life was his resignation of the government on the 22nd of April, 1659. The members of the Long Parliament, or Rump, as they were contemptuously called, now assumed the reins of power. The nation consisted in politics of Royalists and Republicans; in religion of Dissenters and Churchmen. Amongst the Dissenters were 200 opinions of different kinds, but many of the Presbyterians were Loyalists. This was the state of things in Stowe. Religious opinions here were divided between the Church and Presbyterianism. But other opinions were either unknown or possessed very few disciples. The church formed the great majority of the population, for in 1716 there were only 34 dissenters in the parishes, although at this earlier period their numbers may have amounted to 100.* The loyal party now began to look forward with a more cheerful hope for the restoration of Charles the Second. The church and vicarage were dilapidated and neglected during the twenty preceding years. The living had been impoverished; and the small yet violent faction of Dissenters in the parishes, had been enabled from the isolated condition of the town to do much local mischief, but their reign was in the sure revolutions of Providence drawing to a close. On the 13th of Oct. 1659, General Lambert expelled the Rump Parliament, and the army became in its officers the governing power of

RESTORATION.

the nation. All the gentry then expected confiscation and massacre, whilst trade was depressed, commerce languished, the nation was stupefied, the church sighed in hope, and universal distrust spread a general gloom throughout the kingdom. On the 26th of December the parliament was again restored to its functions, and General Monk began to advance with his army from Scotland, with the secret but well-kept intention of restoring the king. Monk, as is well known, perfectly succeeded with his skilful caution in calling a free parliament, and in this way giving an utterance to the national voice, so long suppressed and abused.

[1660] The general exultation at such proceedings was universal. But in towns like Stowe, where the sufferings of the Loyalists had been great from fines and taxation, it burst out in crowded assemblages of the people in public, in large public dinners, in bonfires, gifts to the poor, and flowing hogsheads of beer and ale. The Rumps of fowls, oxen, sheep, and of any eatable animal were roasted at bon-fires in the streets: The populace coarsely declaring by these emblems their fickle hatred against that Parliament, which had committed such evils in the church and kingdom, and who by the smallness of their numbers compared with those who ought to have sat there, were only a part of the body. On the 8th of May, 1660, the king was proclaimed at London. Loyalty and good sense became once more ruling principles, and the church resumed her proper place in the affections and counsels of the nation. Four hogsheads of beer were provided by the Churchwardens for the poor of our town. "Four drummers" engaged by them aroused the inhabitants early in the morning of the

* *Terrier, 1716.*

REJOICINGS.

17th of this month, and a trumpeter decked out in coloured ribbons assisted on their part to announce the County Meeting. "The Sheriff's chariott was drawn into the market place by the people, and Mr. Coulson's scollars did asset." These public guardians of the parish purse, though careful from their office, did worthily support the ancient reputation of this king's town for loyalty.* They gave money to the "scollars" for their juvenile attachment to church and state. Many pounds of powder, with pack-thread and paper for making it into crackers were bought. "The army drummer" was fed and paid. The ringers had gifts of money, ale, and good cheer at discretion. The sheriff's band of trumpeters received money. "Seven men helpeing" were taken care of. *J. Chenery* had a handsome gift for proclaiming the monarch. *Wayman, Osborne*, and *Young Casey* were hired "to make up the cloaths," and for "mending the cullers," and for making up "stremers." "Nine men more helpeing," and "*J. Humfrey, J. Scapey, and M. Garnham*," supplying beer, assisted in quenching the thirsty loyalty of the inhabitants and in draining the parish purse.† On this joyful day the Wardens of both parishes and a large number of parishioners dined together, and distributed "grotes" to the poor;—"bread for the pore"—"powder and match"—and "dyners at reckoning daye," figure in the accounts, and serve to remind us of the thankful hearts and joyful spirits which then proclaimed the mercy of Providence to the nation, and the restoration of the throne and church to their rights. The king's arms in the church had 20 years before been pulled down and destroyed; but 6*l. 0s. 0d.* was now expended in "paynting" a new one, and "for ye frame of ye king's armes" 1*l. 12s. 0d.* Whilst "Christmas-day," which although one of the apostolic church festivals, had not been observed for 20 years was now kept, and the ringers were engaged for *ringing* and not chiming on its celebration. The

REJOICINGS.

"prayer-book" appeared, and one was bought for that church where its solemn services had not yet been heard by many of the young parishioners.

Mr. Blakerby a merchant and alderman of London,* of extensive property and great influence, had purchased the living, and came to settle in the town. He built a mansion called Chilton House at the end of Tavern Street, of which a part still remains, and was a man of large and cultivated mind. He presented the living to his nephew the Rev. Samuel Blakerby, a man eminent for his piety and possessed of considerable talents, who had served as curate in the parishes. He succeeded to a neglected and defaced church, and a dilapidated parsonage. As the parishioners joy was great in having a vicar now whose principles of attachment to the Episcopal church were well known, they determined to assist in the restoration of some parts of the vicarage. They paid for "brick to mend our minister's harth," also for "white brick to mend our minister's buttrey and his parler," also *E. Wood* the bricklayer for "seven days and a half worke at ye vickeridge." On the day "when Mr. Blakerby did take possession of church and vickridge" the Wardens met and drank three pints of sack together.† They also provided "a quart of sack for the Chancilor with Mr. Blakerby." "The Chancilor's fees" were willingly paid; the ringers had money, victuals, and drink. But one of the most characteristic events as showing the general feeling of the nation is, that the Bishop himself came into the town, and appears to have put vicar Blakerby into possession. For "on that day they payed two men for mowin of gret rushes."‡ "W. Collis was payd for hay for the Bishop's horses;" "beere was payd for at the Rose for the soulgers;" the rushes were used to cover the floor of the church or guild-hall, and the "soulgers" formed part of the then disbanded forces of Cromwell's army returning and settling peaceably in their homes. Thus the Episcopal Incumbent was restored to his proper

* Mr. J. Keble and Mr. R. Bloom.

+ 21 p. Record Book, Churchwarden's Accounts 1660, 1661, a full account of "what monye is disbursed when the kinge was proclaymed 17th May and come into London." No. 21, p. Record Book.

Accounts 1680.

† P. Brasier and J. Barrel, 1662.
‡ "Fourteen bottles of sack and one pint, nine bottles of white wine and sugar were drank when the Bishopp came through the towne." C. W's. accounts.

LOCAL FEELINGS.

place in the parish, the vicarage was repaired, the Bishop assisted by his presence in enlarging their loyal church principles, the old Burrough assumed a new aspect, and its prosperity began to return.*

The Commandments had been torn down with the arms of the throne, but now "two yds and a quarter of canvass for the ten Commandments" was bought, on which they were painted. "A sacrament book" was purchased, for during the reign of Dissent no sacrament was administered according to ancient forms. "The Creed and Lord's Prayer were written up in the church." "Rob. Cooke, silversmith, was paid "2l. 14s. 6d. for a peece of sylver plate," on which we still distribute the blessed body of Christ in the church. "A pulpit vale," "a cloth for the desk," "ten yards, a quarter, and a nayle of holland for the surpliss," all appear, as evidences of the restoration of those decent and ancient customs which hundreds of years have dignified for the use of the church. On the 30th of January, being the first day on which the anniversary of Charles the First's murder was celebrated, they "paid a minister that did preach 10s. and 1s. for his dynner." And to "Mr. Greene for preaching two sermons 15s." Nor was the pulpit forgotten in this old zeal for the desk. "Five bockes of fine gould for the sound board—fine gould for the sound board—beere for painters and joyners and masons to take down the sound board and to sett itt up," bespeak the earnest desire to beautify the house of their spiritual affections, God's house of prayer. Whilst at Easter when they met to settle these accounts, which exceeded by 40*l.* what they had been accustomed to pay, their cheerful liberality still shewed their joy at the downfall of Puritan factions and churchea, for they gave "dennyers to 60 men" of the parish as a happy conclusion to their financial year.† "The Burrow of Stowmarket" thus maintained its ancient reputation as a king's town for loyalty, and Messrs. Keble, Brasier, Blome, and J. Barrell, were good representatives of the general feeling of the parishioners at this happy restoration of

* See further on Mr. B's account of it, called so in all the papers.

† 26 p. Record Book—Accounts *passim*.

LOYALTY.

the Episcopal church and crown of England to its "own again."*

In 1663 J. Brasier a brother of Peter's the former Churchwarden, found yet something to be done. The *chimes* continued to play their old Puritanical tunes. At the breaking out of the troubles in 1641 they had altered the barrel, and introduced every fourth hour a tune on the bells, which was more in harmony with Puritanical notions. But now "the chymes were put into another tune," and as this is the last record we have of such an alteration, our present tunes of "Life let us Cherish"—the good old loyal tune set to the ancient ballad of "the Miller of Mansfield"—and "the 104th Psalm," are all appropriate expressions of the strong current of enthusiastic loyalty which pervaded the Hundred and town. May we never be induced to "put the chymes into another tune!"

[1662] On the 6th of May, they celebrated "the comin of the Queen" into London from Portugal, and "the soulgers" were supplied by the Wardens with plenty of "pouther and match," the ringers as usual were unable to ring without "dynners, beere, and money," whilst green rushes were mowed again and spread in the town-hall or church, where a meeting on the 29th of May was held to vote a county address.†

In 1661 a most stupendous storm began to blow very early in the morning of the 18th of February and was felt in all parts of England. It was accompanied with rain, hail, thunder, and lightning, and in many places the rain had a salt taste far inland, as if the spray from the sea was carried into the interior. Near us and Ipswich a man was killed by the fall of a barn, and another by a tree. "That most famous spire or pinnacle of the Tower Church in Ipswich was blown down upon the body of the church and fell

* Sir Henry North of Mildenhall, Suffolk, was created a baronet June 15, 1660. He was often in the town and seems to have lived in this neighbourhood, as his signature appears to some of the magistrate's papers. In March of this year Sir John Crofts of Stow, Suffolk, was also created a baronet, but I am not able to give his history. (*Baker.*) It is probable that he was a baronet in the city.

† Accounts, Peter Brasier C. W. of the Borough.

A GREAT STORM.

reversed" into the church, "broke quite through a grave stone and ran shoring under two coffins. That part of the spire which was plucked up was about three yards deep in the earth." In a few miles, riding in this neighbourhood that day, a gentleman affirmed there were eleven barns and out-houses blown down in his view, and he had heard of above thirty barns hereabouts destroyed. Norwich coach with six horses was not able to reach London, but stopped on the road until the storm abated.*

The money expended on the church from the year 1658 to the year 1665 amounted to 105*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* And some estimate may be formed of the number of poor by a calculation made in the same papers† of the money expended on the poor during these seven years, "by the order of the inhabitants," which came to 378*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* In taking care of their poor they expended the money in clothes, wood, beer, bread, cheese, rent, cash, medical attendance and coffins, and fees to the clergyman, sexton, and clerk. The greatest number were assisted at their own houses, or at "the town houses," which they allowed the poor to occupy, and which formed part of the parish property. In the accounts of the next year so much good fellowship prevailed that "beere for the boys and men that went the bounds, and sack and fourteen quuts of Muskidon" for the Wardens' dynner, with many faggots of wood to warm the church for the vicar, make their appearance.‡

Columbine hall was the residence of Sir J. Poley, who was knighted by Rob. Devereux Earl of Essex, in Ireland. The daughter of Sir J. Gilbert, kn^t of Great Finborough, was married to him. In the close of his life he removed from Columbine hall to the town, where he had erected a house for himself, and J. Poley, esq. his son resided in Stowupland in 1665. The eldest son (Ambrose) of T. Crawley, esq. afterwards purchased this estate. In 1754 he died, and it now belongs to the Earl of Ashburnham.

In this year the last and greatest plague which London had ever endured broke out in that unhappy city, and during its ravages, 100,000 people are sup-

THE GREAT PLAGUE.

posed to have died. It reached some places in the country, but Stowmarket escaped. Needham and Ipswich suffered under its scourge, and whilst it continued there, the people here carried provisions half-way between the towns, and deposited them at a barrier erected across the road, from whence they were taken by the Needham folk and money left in their place, the Stowe people then returning to take up the money which was generally during this calamity first passed into a vessel of vinegar and water.* Not only did they aid their neighbours by carrying them provisions, they assisted them also with their prayers, "for a boke of prayers for the visitation in Londone" was ordered by the inhabitants, and afterwards "a second booke of praiers and a proklamation" were bought. There was not a single case of plague in the town, though several existed at Needham and more at Ipswich.† This grievous pestilence was followed in the next year by the fire of London, which burned for three days and nights with incredible fury, and destroyed four hundred streets and thirteen thousand houses. In this fire Mr. High Sheriff Blakerby suffered many severe losses, which are noticed in the dedicatory letter to him from the vicar in his volume of sermons, but he continued to reside at Stowmarket till his death in 1688, conferring many benefits on the parishes and neighbourhood.

In 1666 Mr. Blakerby buried his wife Anne, and in April, 1668, he married Mrs. Cath. Cotton a widow lady of Stowmarket. In 1667 his son Thomas died and was buried at Stowmarket. 1674 terminated the life of his second wife, and she was carried to her grave on the 5th of November. His own death followed soon after, and he was buried on the 21st day of December in the same year. His son Nathaniel departed this life in Sept. 1676.‡

1667] Worsted weaving was one of the occupations in the town, and several considerable manufactories of these fabrics existed, and realized fortunes for their owners. The parish also became a borrower of money for some public purpose from Mrs. Judythe Coppenger, which the bond states was repaid with

* *Mirabilis Annus.* quoted by De Foe in his storm, 59.
† 49 p. Records. ‡ J. Barrel, Accts. 1664.

* Old Parish Clerk's tradition.
† Registers—chest.

+ Accts. 1665.

TOWN TRADE.

interest at 6 per cent. according to the terms, at her mansion-house in villa Bury St. Edmund's.* J. Keble, Israel Barrell, and Jacob Greene are the debtors.

1668] St. George's day was now kept with "ringing and meates, drinkeas and cakeas." An arbitration occurred between the town and the parish of Onehouse, which unlike most legal disputes was settled for the large sum of one shilling paid by the town. The desk was still called "a reading pew." "The *Guild-hall* was new thatched with straw."[†] In the next year the church and a new bell cost 7*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* as the walls required much repair, and one of the old bells from the abundance of loyal ringing during the last years became split, and refused any longer to rejoice in these happy changes.[‡]

1670] "The towne pumpe" now broke down and was mended by order of the parishioners. And some of the poor folks resisting orders "for servynge a letter to one how to prevent the marrying of ye Wid. Ffllint," this figures in serious distinctiveness. Our old friend "Mr. Gurnal of Lavenham" was still alive and in his parish amid all these changes. He had therefore conformed and kept his living, instead of unwisely refusing to obey the act of uniformity. "He recommended R. Gurling that suffered a loss by fire in Norfolk to our charity," and they aided him with 5*s.* which is ten times the usual sum given on such occasions.

1670] An agreement was made between the feoffees and other inhabitants of Stowmarket, and the feoffees and inhabitants of the Upland about the division of the rents arising from Margaret Gowle's will. The Stow people agreed to pay annually seven pounds to the Uplanders, and the latter pledged themselves, their heirs, executors, &c. to bear *equal charges* with the townsfolk in repairing church, steeple, and church-yard, and "other necessary charges as are fitting to be laid out and done as aforesaid." A dispute for many years, having its origin in the Puritanical outrages of 1645 and 6, had existed between the parishes. Much damage had been

PARISH RESIDENTS.

committed in the church by some violent Dissenters in the Upland, and the dilapidations had fallen heavily on their successors. For some years the Stow-uplanders resisted the payment of the repairs which the church required, but as part of this fanatical violence had undoubtedly been permitted by the Wardens of that parish, the parishioners were burdened for some years afterwards with the heavy expenses attending the restitution of the fabric of the church, which had been injured by such wicked folly. The stained glass windows however were too costly thus to be replaced, and individual devotion can only renew them. It would cost at this time from 2 to 300*l.* to restore what was then (1645) destroyed in one day. These disputes were now happily set at rest, and the old parish church as the joint ornament and property of both parishes was guarded and sustained, as it is to this day, most effectually by their mutual efforts.*

At this period there were seven gentlemen of large property residing in the town. Blackerby, Keble, Crane, Eyes, Goddard, Peake, and Gibson. But in 1673 these had increased to seventeen esquires and magistrates.[†] The town however was not so populous as may be supposed, but it seemed to be an attractive place for the gentry of the neighbourhood. Twenty-four poor bodies received weekly relief from the parish, and the whole "disbursements to ye standing and extraordinary poor" were 9*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* the rates were collected weekly, and from the reputation of the town for charity and wealth, there seems to have been a much larger proportion of poor than in other places of the same size and population. Hts were at this time a very general head dress amongst the females of the poorer as well as richer classes, and the parish often bought them for their poor.

It was customary at this period for the Uplanders on their "reckoning day," to provide themselves "with malt, wheat, and other necessaries at their dynner." Without such a day and its good humoured accompaniments it would seem impossible

* 41 p. Records.

[†] R. Osborne C. W.

[‡] J. Turner 1696, and 83 p. Records.

* P. Chest Stowupland.

[†] Papers—chest.

PARISH AFFAIRS.

that in either parish, the year's business could have been settled. And this old custom was kept up in the other parishes of the Hundred. The Uplanders had a paid watchman at this period, and provided him "with a night watch-cote" by order of the inhabitants, (1671.) In 1673 the fifth bell could no longer bear the change produced by twenty years of Puritan silence, and the last ten years of Royal Ringing, "she broke down, and was carried to Ipswich by the Upland, and there went through her running," and was recast.

1674] The spyre of the church which had been erected 300 years, and at that period rose 120 feet from the tower, was so decayed in its "tymbers and lead" that fears were entertained of its downfall. "A petition addressed to the worshipful Rob. King, Commissary and Official through the whole Archdeaconry of Sudbury," was presented by the inhabitants, praying his permission then to take down and rebuild the spire.* This was accomplished at the cost of about 70*l.* and it remained till the great storm in 1703.

1673] The Rev. J. Blackerby the vicar published a volume of sermons, bearing the title of "*Jehovah Jireh; or the Saint's Relief in a time of Exigency*," held forth in several sermons preached at Stowmarket in Suffolk, by Samuel Blackerby, minister of the gospel and vicar there. London, printed for Nevill Simons, at the Prince's Arms in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1674."

I shall give the curious dedicatory address to his parishioners, because so many particulars respecting the town are mentioned therein.

* The following names are attached to the petition—

Thos. Blackerby	W. Langham
S. Blackerby	Rob. Greene
Jos. Crane [father of Sir	J. Kebble
J. Crane, bart. & Lord	W. Garrard, C. W.
Mayor of London]	C. Booth
J. Meadowe	S. Burrough
R. Osborne	T. Wetherell
F. Peake	Nelson Bigsby
Jonathan Peake	T. Bigsby
J. Speere	J. Carver
R. Sastard, C. W.	R. Jacob, C. W.

I doe give license according to this certificate and petition.

Parish Records, 38—44—85.

Ro. KING.

MR. BLACKERBY'S ADDRESS.

TO MY DEAR PARISHIONERS AND BELOVED NEIGHBOURS
IN THE BURBOUR OF STOWMARKET AND UPLAND.

Gentlemen and Neighbours,

'Tis now many years since I preached the sermons that have the precedence in this little piece, which I now offer to your perusal. And I am afraid that (as to some) they are dead, yea buried in the grave of forgetfulness, and are as if they never had been preached. Upon this and some other considerations am I overcome to do that now which (formerly) I thought none should ever have had such influence upon me, as to prevail with me to attempt.

I have been informed that the preaching of them was very grateful unto spiritual palliates, and that doth encourage me to hope the printing and reading of them will be so too.

You have them and the rest printed as they were studied and penned, but I cannot say, as they were preached. The matter is the same; but they may want something of their heat and life, unless a diligent reading of them be attended with the spirit of life.

As the subjects are various, so various motives and impressions upon my spirit put me upon preaching of them at Stow. And in all I hope I was under Divine conduct.

For, 1. When I perceived my ministerial labours and employment were necessarily augmented, and did exceed my first engagement and expectation, my flesh and my heart began to fail; so that I was ready to say with the Apostle, "Who is sufficient for these things?" and therefore could not fix upon a text in all the book of God more suitable than Psalm lxxiii, 26, both to myself and also to others who (at that time) had their failings of flesh and heart also.

2. When I had experienced the power and presence of God with me, so that the hearts of many, both in the town and country seemed to be kind to me upon a spiritual account; I was then thoroughly convinced that it was the wheel within the wheel that brought me hither, and therefore made choice of Ezekiel's vision of the wheels, on the mystery of divine Providence, as a fit subject to treat of in this place: and afterwards contracted the chief of the matter (contained in many sermons) into a narrower compass, and preached it in a more eminent place.

I am not altogether insensible that this precious liquor broached and drawn forth in studying and preaching, hath passed through an impure pipe. This heavenly treasure hath been put into an earthen vessel, and therefore may have received some hurt and detriment; yea, have a taste thereof. But I hope that the sense of your own imperfections and failures in spiritual undertakings (for we are all as an unclean thing, and our righteousness as filthy rags) will be an effectual inducement to you to plead with God on my behalf, that what is mine therein, may be pardoned and on your own behalf that what is His He will so own as to make it powerful upon your spirits whilst you are reading and meditating thereon, in order to your present and eternal advantage.

I bless the Lord for my fruits of my labours in preaching among you, and if the Lord shall please to lengthen out my life, to see an increase thereof by printing, I shall say with David, "I will praise him yet more and more." Yea, then I shall have gained my end in this new work, and say with the Apostle in reference to both, "What is my crown and glory? are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus?" However, God's glory, your spiritual advantage and public service to the church, being the

MR. BLACKERBY'S ADDRESS.

marks I aim at in this undertaking. If I spend my strength for nought, and in vain at present, yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God; and when I am rotting in my grave, the seed which hath been sowing in Stow many years may spring up and bring forth a plentiful and glorious harvest. The Lord grant that none of you do make it evident at the last that you are either of the number of high-way hearers, thorny-ground, or stony-ground hearers. But that you all may be good ground, fit and prepared to receive the seed that God hath yet to sow among you, by the hands of his seedsmen; so that though they sow in tears, yet at last they may reap in joy. As for myself I shall not cease to pray, yea, to beg the prayers of others that the gospel may still run and be glorified among you, that this Sun of light, glory, and grace, may never set upon you in a cloud, and that your glorious day of God's visitation in mercy may not wind up in a dark and dreadful night of darkness and desolation.

I can do no less at present than put you in mind of and publish the kindness of God to you and to myself in you for that distinguishing mercy of God that is written upon Stow in a very fair and legible character, even to the admiration of many that live near us; yea, to strangers also whose occasions have invited and drawn them hither; insomuch that some very judicious persons have expressed their hearts to me in these and such like words:—that there is scarce a town to be (in many miles distance) so eminently blessed and that in many respects.

What they have said upon report, I shall now publish upon my own observation and experience and that in some particulars.

1. That there is so much brotherly love and union of heart among you, in order to spiritual and evangelical ends, although some difference in judgment, as to some circumstances.

2. That in the space of almost eleven years, there hath not been one that professed Godliness in the town that hath separated from the public preaching of the word.*

3. That when the arrows of the pestilence flew thick round about us, God preserved us.

4. That under your peace and liberty you have wonderfully thriven and prospered in your worldly estate, so that there is a new face upon the town.

5. That God hath given you a more than ordinary spirit of zeal for his glory, and of charity towards the souls of young ones in the town. Witness the agreement and subscription of many of you for the education of poor children, and a strict observation of the Lord's day.^t

6. I must not forget your kindness to myself. And that,

1. In your unanimity of spirit to receive, entertain, and encourage me at my first coming among you.

2. In your frequent visits and night watchings with me in my sicknesses and sore afflictions.

3. But especially in your daily remembrance of me at the throne of grace, and constant attendance upon the word preached in public.

* At this time there were no Dissenters, (A.D. 1673.), the rebellion and fanaticism of the late war had disgusted all sober-minded persons with dissenting principles. They knew that salvation could be obtained in the church, and would not incur the evils of schism or separation for matters of opinion.

^t How pleasing! that this spirit still exists.

NONCONFORMISTS.

I have often said it, that my life hath been given in to the prayers of my people. And let the reader know that I account it no small favour and smile from heaven, that I live among a praying people. Though all of them be not, yet many are.

Now (Gentlemen and Neighbours) for all these favours I return you my hearty thanks, and as a testimonial thereof I must tell the world that I bless the Lord for his providence in my removal hither, and in continuing me thus long among you; and do not repent me of the hard labour, afflictions, trials, and temptations which I have endured here. The Lord grant that our mutual love may not only continue but increase, and that our winding up may be better than our beginning. For then shall we triumph in glory, and sing hallelujahs together, for ever and ever. For this end he shall not cease to pray for you, who is,

Your servant in the work of the gospel,
SAMUEL BLACKERBY.

Stowmarket, Dec. 2, 1673.

After the fashion of the times these sermons are commended in two letters to "the courteous reader's attention, thine to serve thee in our Lord Jesus Christ, by Thomas Holbrough, some time rector of Battisford, and the author's unworthy brethren Rich. Jennings some time rector of Combe, and John Fairfax some time rector of Barking." A very high character is given in these letters of Vicar Blackerby. In his preaching he possessed "spiritual solidity," and great energy of delivery. Frequently "his lamp seemed almost reduced into its socket in giving light to others, yet divine relief carried him through his work." "The hearts of his charge were revived." He lived in the affections and hearts of his people. His style was earnest, searching, plain, and carried conviction to the souls of his hearers. He was unwearied in his work, though labouring under many sicknesses, "and the name of Blackerby both in his worthy father and son, may like a box of spikenard, perfume their memorial, when this servant of God is gone to receive a crown." "He was a singular blessing to a very great congregation: considerable as for its number, so especially for the many sober and serious Christians that are found therein." He had been curate after Dr. Young's incumbency—"that reverend, learned, orthodox, prudent, and holy man," and for ten years presided as vicar in the parish. "In truth of doctrine, power of godliness, real and spiritual religion," he was eminent. He died and was buried 21st December, 1674.*

* See epitaphs in the chancel and letters^fprefacing his sermons.

HIS CHARACTER.

Such was one of several distinguished men whose energies have been devoted to the service of the gospel and church in this parish, and whose heads have laboured and hands wrote in the old vicarage, where still their successors reside. Mr. B. was a sound Churchman and no Puritan. He conformed and tolerated, though he could not approve of those who dissented from Apostolic forms, usages, and services. His unity was one sought in outward things, and in a visible church as designed by Christ him-

HIS CHARACTER.

self, and not merely in the unity of spirit. Knowing as all those must do who look beneath the mere surface of church history and religion, that there can be no real peace, spiritual comfort, and an extensive blessing to the catholic church, until Christians shall be content to unite together in outward forms, as well as inward spirit. And that this can only be done by yielding to the voice of Church History and New Testament Episcopacy.

CHAPTER XXX.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1674 TO 1690.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN.

A description of the town in the early part of the eighteenth century may be here given in reference to a man of eminent rank as an antiquary, who lived during the whole of the stormy periods from 1630 to 1650 in Suffolk. The principal seat of this baronet was at Stowlangtoft,* but he had three other mansions. One at Bury St. Edmunds, one at Lavenham, and a third at Stowmarket. "This is a good large town situate in the centre of the county, and hath a well-stored market weekly on Thursday, and a fair yearly on St. Peter's day, June 29. Its chief trade is in making Norwich stuffs, and it hath in it several good Inns. It hath a large and beautiful church, adorned with such a large steeple and lofty pinnacle as is not easy to parallel in the county. In later times it was famous for being the habitation of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, bart. whose seat was at Stowehall. He was the grandson of Andrew D'Ewes de-

SIR SIMON D'EWES.

scended of the ancient family of Des Ewes, Dynasts, or Lords of the Dominion of Hessel, in the Duchy of Gelderland, who came first into England when that province was wasted with civil wars in the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign. He was bred in Cambridge, and having a genius leading him to the study of antiquities he was so covetous of Roman coins, that he cared not what price he gave to procure any choice ones, which he was as careful to keep as skilful to discriminate true ones from such as were cast or counterfeit. Nor was he less inquisitive about any ancient books or records, of which he gathered many rare ones. He had such plenty of medals, that a skilful antiquary might have composed a history out of them very beneficial to posterity. But his treasure contained new things as well as old, and he was wont to speak with admiration, 'that the ordinances of the long parliament were more numerous and bulky than all the statutes since the Conquest.' He was very kind to learned men, and was always ready to do them good offices. He

* Now the residence of Henry Wilson, esq. late M.P. for W. Suffolk.

SIR SIMON D'EWES.

dyed in the yeare of our Lord 1653."* In the preface to the Extracts of Sir S. D'Ewes' Journal,† it is said he died in 1650. But this it is likely is incorrect. He is not buried at Stowlangtoft, for no record or stone is there of his death.‡ Neither was he at Lavenham, where the registers have been kindly searched for me.|| Three of his infant children were buried in the chancel of Lavenham church. But none of the family died at Stowmarket. Stow hall, his principal mansion was at Stowlangtoft, but before the erection of the present mansion of Abbots hall here, the original residence in those abbey grounds where the abbots of St. Osythe had a large grange, was called also Stow hall. It was probably at this house that Sir Simonds resided during the latter part of his life. At this period (1648 to 1658) he had been somewhat reduced in estate by parliamentary fines and exactions. For although a member of the long parliament for Sudbury, and high sheriff of the county, yet his brother had taken part with the king, and he was heavily fined for his brother's recusancy. He was one of the members turned out by Cromwell under the operation of Col. Pride's purge, as it was termed. He was a Royalist and a member of the church. When the Prayer Book was suppressed by the Independents, and copies of it not only became very scarce, but when found in some cases subjected their owners to suspicion and persecution by these Dissenters, many serious persons concealed their Prayer Books and used them in secret. Sir S. D'Ewes appears to have been of this number. The printed book would have been easily recognized in his hand, but not so a written paper. There is preserved in the British Museum § a prayer book copied out in his own hand, which was used in his devotions without its appearance exciting that suspicion which a printed copy would have done. "The godly," as the sectaries arrogantly called themselves, thought Sir Simonds was engaged with some choice Puritan

THE VICARS.

manuscript, when he was seriously commanding himself to God as his forefathers had done for hundreds of years, according to the ritual of the primitive ages, through the liturgical services of the then persecuted Church of England. His father was one of the six clerks in Chancery, and he gives some items of the profits derived from the place, by which the fortune he had was made.

	£. s. d.
In 1622 . . .	1522 7 0
In 1627 . . .	1988 10 8
In 1630 . . .	1866 12 4

So in nine years his father cleared 15,166*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* He was 23 years a sixth clerk and "gained about the sum of £32,500,"* which may be at least equal to £60,000 now. For in those times £500 was considered as good a fortune with a daughter as £2000 in 1670.† And this last sum may be viewed as equivalent to £4000 now. He was a laborious collector of manuscripts and coins, which are now in the British Museum. His favourite maxim was "*Melius mori quam sibi vivere.*" A maxim worthy of every Christian's remembrance.‡

1674] Our last chapter closed with the labours of one of the old vicars in Stowe, but on the 21st of December his body rested within those venerable walls where he had so often ministered to wearied souls, and guided them to Him who is the lasting rest of the Christian in heaven. The ink of his pen and the dust of his bones are all that remain to us. But the religion he taught is still extending, the church remains in its vigorous antiquity as a memorial of the past, and like Christianity herself upholds the doctrines and form of religion established by the Apostles. With what solemn pleasure do we pass and repass above the relics of these militant church guides, and tread in their footsteps! Dissent had vainly endeavoured to overthrow the whole fabric of ancient order and discipline, and had failed. But

* *Journal*, p. 21.

† *Ibid.*

† *Journal*. *Brit. Mus. Harl. Lib.* It is worth printing, although it breaks off abruptly, being a minute picture of the times in many particulars. He left Stowlangtoft because he quarrelled with the rector and his style of preaching and went to Lavenham where the rector and his sermons were more to his taste.

* *Jermyn's Collections*, *Harl. M.S.*, *Brit. Mus. Addenda*, 8191. Stow.

† No. 14, *Bibliotheca Topographica*.

‡ Rev. R. Rickards, rector.

|| Rev. J. Johnson, rector. § *Harl. M.S.*

TOWN INCIDENTS.

another danger now rapidly approached: and in the short reign of James the Second the church was assailed by that bigotted monarch with political Popery, and the nation and church were again saved by God's special providence from the spiritual tyranny of the Church of Rome.

1676] The Rev. Richard Shute was now vicar, a man of piety, ability, and property, who worthily supported the character of the town for religion and respectability. We shall meet with him again at the close of this period.

The attachment of the parishioners to church and state never hesitated at any expense in making itself known, "for ringing when ye Bishop came to town," "straw and laying of itt at King's Arms," when he came, "sweeping in the Gild Hall," "worke and stuff at ye Town Hall," are all evident proofs of the complexion of their feelings in these times. The vicar was sometimes absent, and then the parishioners "paid Mr. Shutte's curate." The bells were still the sufferers by such good old loyal doings, and "by ye fall of ye 5th bell 3 chimes were broken," and again tested the loyalty of the parish in that sensitive part of John Bull's economy, his public and private purse.

1678] A large body of soldiers was quartered in the town, and that most serious mortality, the Small Pox, broke out amongst them. The deaths during this year were twice as numerous as before or afterwards. The Colonel, Major, and Captains escaped. But 51 soldiers died at the Rose, Queen's Head, King's Arms, White Lion, George, Crown, Angel, and Hat and Feather Inns. They remained here from January to March, and some of their number too ill to be removed died at the King's Arms. The poor became infected, and numbers of them perished, so that the then large sum of 83*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* was expended by E. Rosier, C. W. who managed the poor accounts. By an absurd act passed to encourage the woollen trade, every body was now obliged to be buried in this species of shroud, and Mrs. Emma Marriott is recorded as the first person whose dead body was thus decorated by statute law. The soldiers were all interred together in one place under two large syc-

RATES.

mores in the church-yard, and so many bodies lying together raised the ground and it was called for many years the soldier's hill.*

1680] The rates in this year increased again from sickness to 15*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* The standing poor amounted to 32. The extraordinary poor received £62. So that sickness from small pox and other diseases was very prevalent. The Wardens lent money this year to Mr. J. Paske and "received for the use of £80 for one year 4*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* The accounts in this and for a year or two are melancholy details of incessant sickness. The payments to a variety of "goodys and goodmans for being in want, for wood, for his need, for his great sickness, for mending coats, for making shifttings, for lodgings, for rent, for keeping, for watching, laying forth, and burying poor creatures," are repeated with melancholy uniformity. In the next year they paid £2 for washing poor children. The winters appear to have been particularly severe, as "faggotts and lodes of wood" in great numbers were distributed in the cold weather to the poor. There is a quiet pains-taking spirit of benevolent charity in all these accounts which speaks very largely of the kindness with which the poor were watched over and assisted. The yellow time-worn papers are bright with gleams of a truly Christian exercise of doing to our neighbour as to ourselves.

We must not suppose however that they forgot themselves. Mr. Brasier a favourite Warden of Upland was buried, and then they had a funeral dinner. Their ancient hatred of Popery began also to revive, as the nation began most seriously to dread the accession of James the Second to the throne. He was known to be a confirmed Roman Catholic, and every body expected an attempted restoration of the Romish Church to power. The

* Registers. The Inns in the town and their occupiers are thus enumerated—

King's Head—which was then a new Inn opened since the

Restoration, for in Cromwell's days no such sign was permitted to exist, and any man rash enough to open such a house would have probably been suspended by the neck from his own sign—by J. Rush.

Whyt Hart—E. Goodall | *Ye Rose*—L. Fuller

Ye George—J. Luskie | *King's Arms*—J. Wright,

Whyt Horse—R. Quass | (then an old sign made new)

Whyt Lyon—M. Offwood | *Fox run down*—C. Rootes or Rout

TOWN INCIDENTS.

fifth of November began therefore to be observed with all its old accustomed honours of gun powder, firing, squibbing, and ringing. The Uplanders at this time* were remiss in contributing their portion of the expenses towards the repairs of the church, and therefore had to pay as well for "an inditment" at the sessions, as the legal part of these necessary things.

1685] One of the measures of James the Second was to call out the trained bands of militia in all the counties, and enlist this important force on his side. He hoped by these means to secure an army suited to his purposes, and dragoon the nation into a change of their ancient faith. We have "a muster roll" in our papers of this kind for the Hundreds of *Bosmere*, *Claydon*, and *Stow*. The names of all the parishes and of each person in them who bore arms is enumerated. The arms were then either musquets or corslets. And each substantial yeoman or esquire is inserted with the *musquet* or *corslet* he carried. Two descriptions of weapons then existed. The foot were armed with musquets, and some of them still wore a coat of iron, or a corslet as their defensive armour. And this is the last evidence which we have of the existence of this kind of equipment, and which had been in use for six hundred years, but was soon after laid completely aside as unnecessary, when men could fight and slay at a distance with powder and ball, instead of coming hand to hand in the old fashioned hacking and hewing warfare of their forefathers. Nicholas Bacon, esq. was captain of the company and the number of troops in our Hundred which could be called together on any emergency was 56.

Shelland and Onehouse	2	musquets	
Finborough Magna	2	"	1 corslet
Wetherden	2	"	2 "
Haughley	7	"	7 "
Gipping	1	"	
Stowupland	7	"	2 "
Old Newton	5	"	1 "
Stowmarket	12	"	2 "
Creeting	3	"	
			—
41		15	

* 1684—C. W's. accounts, Stowupland.

CHURCH REPAIRS.

The corslet men were persons of superior bearing and arms. The whole force in these three Hundreds amounted to 160 men of all arms, footmen and horse, and well prepared to stand up for their liberties and religion. But the headstrong king miscalculated in his fanatical zeal the temper and religious opinion of the nation. He made the attempt as is well known. His army finding him determined to make them Roman Catholics and overturn the church deserted him, and joined the Prince of Orange, who was by an extraordinary revolution proclaimed a reigning monarch conjointly with Mary his wife.

This muster roll was inspected and is signed by the three deputy lieutenants of the county, on the 10th of March, 1684, and it contains the names of all those who actually served, whether substitutes or not; also the names of the occupiers and owners of the lands in the different parishes in the three Hundreds. Captain *Nicholas Bacon*, commanded with *Henry Manning* 2nd captain—*John Bateman* lieutenant—and *Henry Sparrow* ensign.

1686] The church had not yet recovered from the effects of the civil war, and much of it was dilapidated and wanted repair. The Stowe people handsomely accomplished their part, but our brother the Upland was still restive. Legal measures were now taken by the Archdeacon to compel that hamlet to do its duty by its ancient house of prayer, and the parish was compelled to appear at Bury, "where wee were sited by order of the Archdeacon for to be admonished to show case why excommunication should not be pronounced against us for not repairing the church and providing other necessaries for the same." This summons had the desired effect. A rate was levied, the church was repaired, and the threatened excommunication was withheld.*

1686] It had been a very ancient custom, having its origin in the reign of Elizabeth perhaps, for the men of the County, resident in London, to meet together annually, and after attending divine service and a sermon, they dined together at some noted Inn. Thus keeping alive the bonds of affection with their county and each other. The civil wars of

* C. W's accounts 1686, Stowupland.

SUFFOLK CLERGY CHARITIES.

Charles the First had broken up all these kindly meetings, in which private charity for those in distress was also a part of the business of the day. But about this period an attempt was made by the Suffolk gentlemen and business men in London to revive them. And I have before me "a Sermon preached at the Suffolk Feast in St. Michael, Cornhill, London, Nov. 30, 1686, by Wm. Clagett, D.D. preacher to the honourable Society of Gray's Inn, and chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty." At these feasts were originated those Corporations for the relief of the families of distressed clergymen, which have been prosperous, and whose origin in our own county of Suffolk began in Stowmarket. The text is taken from Gal. vi, 10, and the subject is "the humanity and charity of Christians."*

The Rev. R. Shute had been vicar for twelve years in the town, but the time for his change approached, and after a sickness of some length he died and was buried in February, 1686. By his will he left £100 to the poor of the parish, and a universal sorrow pervaded the neighbourhood at his removal. He was respected, admired, and beloved in the parishes of the Hundred by the gentry, clergy, and yeomanry, whilst the humbler classes testified by their assemblage at his funeral their respect for his memory.†

On this solemn occasion a sermon, entitled "David's Labour and Rest, on Acts xiii, 36, was preached at the funeral of the Rev. Mr. Richard Shute, the late vicar and most reverend pastor of the congregation of Stowmarket, in Suffolk, together with some memorable Remarques upon the deceased for the benefit and use of that parish, by Samuel Hudson, rector of Earl Stonham." I cannot give (for want of space) any extracts from this discourse,‡ which is in manu-

* It is dedicated to Mr. Lane, treasurer.

Dr. Goodhall	Mr. Hilton
Dr. Clenche	Mr. South
Mr. Foster	Mr. Stanton
Mr. Grimble	and
Mr. Bigaby	Mr. Chaplin

Stewards for the late Suffolk Feast.

See 1742 for the Incorporation at Stowmarket of the Clergy Charity.

† Aged fiftie fourre, beinge 12 years in this parish. *P. Reg.*

‡ Parish clerk's papers, presented by R. Enefer to me, and now placed in the parish record book.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

script, but three curious letters which speak for themselves, will not be uninteresting, as Mr. Fairclough the father of one of the writers was one of the old nonconformists, and sometime rector of Kelton in this county. He died in the town and is buried in the chancel.

"To the truly pious and my much honoured Sister, Mrs. Martha Shute.

Dear Sister,

When it pleased our infinitely wise and holy God to translate my most reverend and worthy brother into those blessed mansions of glory, where he now dwells for ever, I was myself prevented by so sharp a sickness, as that I could neither accompany that very numerous and extraordinary train of mourners that followed him to his grave, nor could I then be an auditor of this excellent discourse preached at his funeral: my sorrows were much augmented upon both these considerations, for in that dark hour of providence, when the crown was taken from thy head, and a deep wound was made in my own heart, it would have been some relief to me to have seen multitudes both of ministers and people of different persuasions about little things so unanimously united as they were in their sorrows, for the loss of such an eminent instrument of God's glory, and of so great an example of practical piety, conjoined with such prudent management of his labours as that he had effectually obtained much of his great end, viz. of establishing a profound love to God and to one another in the hearts of his auditors: and had also diffused the same spirit into all his brethren in that corner where God had placed him; it would have been a further comfort to me to have heard the duty of imitation so pathetically urged as it then was in that sermon which is now made publick, the report of which has been sent me, but the copy thereof came but lately into my hands with liberty of printing it, and the restraint which the reverend author had first laid upon you, being in greatest part removed."

"My dear Sister,

"Although I could have wished that the impression had been more early, yet it now comes time enough to hope not only to be communicated to his whole flock, but to add some new fuel to their former great zeal whilst every one of them seemed very ardently bent to pay a most just veneration to his memory; which in truth will be now best done if that they behold this glass frequently before them, and while they are beholding so beautiful a picture, drawn but in brief, yet truly representing him and without flattery, they shall every one endeavour to dress and adorn themselves according to so rare a pattern. Dear Sister, I am informed that the time is almost come, you will discharge part of that legacy of £100 which my excellent brother bequeathed to some trustees named in his will for the purchasing of lands for the benefit of the poor of that Burrough of Stowmarket, and that for ever. Now dear Sister let me earnestly beseech you that whenever you pay any part thereof, you would deposit it in such hands as that a most sacred promise may be given you and us who are overseers of his will that such land may be purchased and also settled so as that the annual rent may be employed as the yearly reward of a schoolmaster for his teaching of the children of the poorest sort to read the English Bible in such number as the trustees shall think

THE TOWN A CORPORATION.

fit: this will be the erecting of a perpetual monument to his memory, more lasting than any of marble with his parishioners have thought and discoursed of to set over his grave. May the good-will of Him that dwelt in the bush, still for ever dwell in that town; and may the Holy Spirit of God so influence all their minds, that that most precious seed which hath been sown in their hearts by our now glorified relation, may take deep root and bring forth abundant fruit, which will be, I am sure, the inexpressible joy of thy soul, and the most earnest prayer of, dear Sister, your most affectionately sympathizing brother

SAM. FAIRCLOUGH."

" Gentlemen,

" At the desire of my Sister, who is now in my house and not capable of doing it herself, do very earnestly and passionately request that the annual revenue of the legacy that her dear husband and your late reverend pastor bequeathed to the Burrough may be employed for the benefit of the poor and not for the ease of the rich, and I do believe it cannot be more advantageously laid out than in procuring a person fit for such a work who shall be obliged to teach a certain number of poor children to read the English Bible, whose parents are not well able to be at that charge for them; tis true my brother hath not prescribed any particular way for the expending of it, but I do not question but this will be grateful to him if he hath any knowledge of what done here below, I hope the confidence he put in you will prompt you to use it in that way which you consider would be most to him could he now speak to you from heaven as he formerly did on earth. You are trustees for God as well as for him; I pray dispose of it as men that must give an account thereof. I have no more to say but that I am your friend and servant,

GEORGE JONES."

A marble monument in Latin was erected by the parishioners to the memory of Mr. S. in the chancel. One hundred pounds was left by him "to the use of the poor of the Burrough of Stowmarket," and — Blakerby, — Bloss, — Crane, esqrs. Messrs. Keeble, Garrard, J. Peake, Jonathan Peake, Cutlove, Booth, Carter, and Hayward, were directed to lay it out in lands "for the benefit of the poor in the said Burrough."* And a certain portion of the rent of Spooman's land so purchased, was appropriated by High Sheriff Blakerby to the support of the free school in the parish for teaching "poor children to read." The residue is at the disposal of the inhabitants.

In all our papers from the year 1569 the town is termed a Burrough, and the Guild-hall was kept up in the church-yard until about 1745. The tradition is, that the last Mayor held office in the life-time of Vicar Shute, and since that period the office has not been revived.

BLACKERBY—TYRELL, ETC.

1688] On the 4th of Novr. T. Blakerby, esq. was buried under the altar steps—the most distinguished place in the church, and chosen expressly to mark the high estimation in which his character and person were held by the townsmen. He was a wealthy, educated, polished gentleman. Grave without moroseness, cheerful in his piety, yet not guilty of levity. A man of honour, of hospitality, and charitable to the poor. He had been a merchant in London and was a sufferer in the loss of houses there by the great fire. He was an alderman of that noble city; high sheriff of this county; an ornament and benefactor to the town; the patron of the living, and left several bequests to it at his death. Two sermons are still preached annually on St. Thomas and St. Peter's days, according to his direction. And 13s. 4d. is paid out of his property to the minister for his sermons, whilst 3s. 4d. "is for a dinner each day or collation." "Twelve pence weeklye" is also paid him for preaching the lecture, and the same sum is distributed every Sunday to "thirteen poor people, with the consent of the minister, who shall constantly frequent the church unless they be hindered by sickness or other impotency after they are appointed to receive this charity."* Gowns also and coats were left by him and monies for other purposes for the same description of poor. And thus he departed leaving a grateful memorial of his piety and charity to succeeding generations. He lived and died in the mansion (now much altered) at the end of Tavern Street, called Childer House.

His death was a serious loss to the town, for his family appear soon afterwards to have left the neighbourhood. At this period no meetings, conventicles, and scarcely any dissenters existed in the town. The general feeling was strongly opposed to them. All the bequests to our parishes were made by churchmen; and this is a rule without an exception (I believe) in all parts of the kingdom.

The signatures of the Tyrell family appear in our books and papers for nearly 300 years, and preserve a remarkable similarity to each other. The names

* Charity book 28.

* His will in vicar's charity book.

SMALL-POX.

also of many high sheriffs, magistrates, and distinguished characters are found in the various papers. And the signatures of all the vicars from the earliest record times.

1690] Since the mortality amongst the soldiers, the town appears to have suffered for some years from small-pox. But at this time the disease became an awful visitation. The poor rates increased five-fold, the collected rate amounted to 136*l.* 19*s.* 0*d.* The expenditure to 316*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* Whilst the overseers remained creditors to the town for a large sum. Several rate payers "had run away," and money was thus lost. So great was the distress, so numerous the deaths, and so grievous this pestilential sickness, that an order was obtained from the sessions and afterwards confirmed by the Court of King's Bench to raise £200 in the Hundreds of Bosmere, Claydon, Hartismere, and Stow, "for the relief of the poor in Stowmarket, who were extremely visited with the small-pox." The contributions in the Hundred were—

	£. s. d.
Buxhall	5 12 8 <i>½</i>
Finborough	3 18 2
Creeting St. Peter	2 10 2
Stowupland	5 15 7
Haughley	5 19 9
Newton	4 19 10
Wetherden	4 3 9
Gipping	2 3 8
Halston, Shelland, & Onehouse	4 13 6
	<hr/> 39 17 1 <i>½</i>

In the whole 199*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* was received from the surrounding country to assist the Stow people in their grievous distress. The vicar *Ffar's* son and wife died of it.* The usual payment in each year before the scourge had been about £70, but for two or three years it amounted to £310 and £320. Self-preservation may have induced the adjoining Hundreds thus promptly to stand forward in aid of the suffering town, but a nobler feeling of Christian sympathy was I trust intermingled with it.

The designs of James the Second to bring in and

NON-JURING CLERGY.

establish Popery, or if this failed to get rid of any establishment, are too well known to require any remark. In part of his designs he was supported by all the Dissenters, and by them and the Roman Catholics urged on to his ruin. The parliament on his abdication looked round for another to succeed to the same royal race, and the direct male line of Stewarts was set aside altogether. But a large body of the Clergy were dissatisfied in conscience with this popular interference with the divine right of hereditary succession to the throne, and as there was a son of James they thought he ought to have been the successor to the abdicated monarch. They declined therefore to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to William and Mary, and quietly vacated their livings, resigning for a high principle all worldly advantages, and thus present to our eyes a body of about 400 men of great learning and piety in separation from the state church. They abhorred dissent and its principles, were like the primitive Christians Episcopalian, and passive sufferers under a condition of law which deprived them of large incomes.

The non-juring clergy regularly applied to the non-juring bishops for advice and spiritual guidance. Prayers were offered, the sacrament administered, and assemblies for worship held amongst themselves and those of the laity who adhered to them. But all their meetings with the Archbishop (*Sancroft*) in London or elsewhere were conducted privately and peaceably, with great caution and spiritual-mindedness. Their affections were set on heavenly things, and they never laboured to increase their party or maintain otherwise than passively their protestation against William and his election to the throne. What a noble exhibition is this of the true principles of the Church of England, and how different from a mere factious dissenterism.

The list of the non-juring clergy in Suffolk who resigned their livings were—

Dr. Nathaniel Bisby - - Rector of Long Melford
 Dr. Charles Trumbull - - Rector of Hadley
 Mr. Edm. Beeston, B.D. Rector of Spraughton & Melton
 Mr. Laurence Howel - - Curate of Estwick
 Mr. Anthony Bockenham Rector of Helmingham

* I judge so by the entries in register.

NON-JURING CLERGY.

Mr. John Owen	- - -	Rector of Toddenham
Mr. Samuel Edwards	-	Vicar of Aye & Rector of Tros-
Mr. Wm. Giffard	-	Rector of Gt. Bradley [ton]
Mr. Stephen Newson	-	Rector of Hawksden
Mr. Abraham Salter	-	Vicar of Edwardstone
Mr. John Gyps	-	Rector of Brockley
Mr. Thomas Ross	-	Rector of Read
Mr. Thomas Rogerson	-	Rector of Ampton
Mr. William Phillips	-	Rector of Long Melford
Mr. William Kerington	-	Curate of Depden
Mr. Richard Lake	-	Curate of Upminster
Mr. William Gilbert	-	Curate of Speckhall
Mr. Jonathan Moor	-	Schoolmaster of Gt. Melford
Mr. Richard Webster	-	Rector of Glemsford
Mr. James Smith	-	Rector of Lound
Mr. Samuel Richardson	-	Curate of Little Bradley

These three last afterwards complied and took the oaths.

*Mr. Edward Pretty, Rector of Cornbeath, was first a non-juror, then declared himself penitent and complied again afterwards.**

* Appendix to *Kettlewell's Life and Works*. Camb. Lib.

NON-JURING CLERGY.

Including Dr. Wm. Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, who died at Hammersmith Jan. 1, 1709—10. One Archbishop and six Bishops were deprived, and about 400 of the clergy.

Archbishop Sandcroft died at *Freshingfield*[†] in 1693, in Suffolk. Dr. Collier was elected by the non-jurors Bishop of Thetford or the Norwich diocese in 1713. After his death and the succession of Anne to the crown, the separation became closed by the remaining high-minded brethren determining no longer to continue a distinct Episcopal jurisdiction in England, and they became merged once more in the bosom of their mother the Church of England.†

* *Life of Nelson.*
† *Collier's Life*, vol. 1, new ed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF DISSENT IN STOWMARKET AND THE COUNTY,
FROM A.D. 1550 TO 1800.

FIRST DISSENTERS.

DISSENT, or Nonconformity as it was formerly termed to the National Religion, had its beginning in the reign of Elizabeth, or it may be dated a few years earlier, and the time of Edward the Sixth conveniently fixed for the commencement of those religious principles in England which have ever since distracted the people, weakened the power of Christianity amongst us, and diminished the usefulness of the protest against all corruptions of Christianity by the Church of England, from whatever source these arise, and whether Rome or Geneva be their parent. The first Dissenters began on two grounds to resist the reformation in the English Church. Some of them were anxious to leave the human mind without any guide in its approaches to God, and to

FIRST DISSENTERS.

depart from every principle which the Apostles had established in church government or forms, or from any appeal to the sense of the most ancient churches. These men set up a new religion altogether, and rejected Episcopacy, an authorized ministry, despised orders, considered church principles in any shape unnecessary, and proclaimed loudly each man's independance of every other person, and his immediate dependence upon God's spirit alone without any human or ecclesiastical guide for the attainment of salvation. The highest Calvinism formed the doctrinal foundation of this party's opinions. Together with a proclamation of unbounded spiritual freedom, they rejected with silent contempt or fierce hatred all appeals to the practice of antiquity, because they felt

FIRST DISSENTERS.

that if this principle was admitted, their outrageous opposition to the practice of the Apostles and of the New Testament Church must be so apparent as to convict them of heresy and schismatical error. These men became the fathers of innumerable divisions, and are the parents of those miserable principles which conduce to the existence of much of the Dissent of our own times.

A second party arose, more moderate in their views and somewhat less opposed to Christ and his apostolic church, but equally, at last, with the first, drawn into a schism by the same disorganizing and destructive principles. These men rejected that divine institution of church government which the Apostles everywhere established under the express sanction of Christ, and became Presbyterians, admitting and even enforcing the necessity of orders and discipline by a church, but were equally wrong in founding it upon the people and not upon God himself. The natural effects of these moderated dissenting principles have been slower in their development, but they have ended and will continue to terminate like the first, in a subversion of the first principles of Christ's holy faith, and those who wish to avoid infidelity or the grossest fanaticism will have to return to those laws which the Apostles established, and must enter the bosom of an Episcopal Church to preserve themselves from spiritual destitution.

These parties sprang out of the Reformation. They existed within the church. They united for the overthrow of the Monarchy and Episcopacy in the reign of Charles the First, and then they destroyed each other in the embraces of the state. The independence of Episcopacy, the true church, may be traced in all ages. A state religion is necessary, and ought only to be that which is the truth, but the church would flourish if it had no union with the state. The resistance to a state religion is the outcry of a political party, or of religious bodies who imagine that they may more easily propagate a dissent from Apostolic practice, if the clergy could be made less wealthy. This movement in Nonconformity arose so late as the reign of James the Second. It was then seen by the Dissenters that they had no chance

FIRST POLITICAL DISSENTERS.

of obtaining any state establishment, and they united therefore with the Roman Catholics to effect the dissolution of the English Episcopal Protesting Church from the state. In this suicidal conduct the passion of revenge or hatred is rather to be traced than any well-grounded hope of success, or any true principle of liberty of conscience. The end of these destructive and novel opinions was foreseen by the wise minds of Elizabeth's counsellors, and through her reign and in that of James, and the early part of Charles, the parliamentary laws would not permit men to exist as open enemies within the church, or tolerate Dissenters. Until the parliament repealed these laws of conformity, they were enforced by the proper officers, who unhappily were the Bishops appointed by statute law for this purpose. Hence arose continual contests between these factious spirits within the church and the law of the land, and conscience was pleaded as an excuse for breaking the laws of a Christian government, by men presuming to call themselves the successors of those first Christians who in conscience obeyed most patiently the laws of a heathen government in its persecuting edicts. This was to arm religion against herself, and force her to an act of suicide.

There were 1500 clergy in the diocese of Norwich in 1636, of whom only 30 were actually excommunicated or suspended for resistance to the law. The lecturers were the most troublesome persons, and in some places lectures were set up without any authority. The Bishop lodged at Ipswich for some time expressly to carry out conformity to the church. *Ward* of Ipswich was one of the most factious, resisted the injunctions of the court, and backed by some people in the town he would neither be silent, nor would they receive any other lecturer. So the lecture was given up.* The lecturers "observed no church orders at all," yet the Bishop acted with great temper and only inhibited three in Suffolk, "of which one is no graduate and hath been a common stage player." These lectureships were the seed-beds of religious revolution. Single lectures were

* *Rymer's Fœdera.* vol. xx, 110.

ROMISH DISSENTERS.

very common. They were carried on by the incumbent without any assistance, but others were sustained by all the neighbouring clergy.* Many of the churches were miserably dilapidated and profaned. At Bury the assizes were kept in a house in the church-yard, and an old public-house stood in the middle of the ground. Some of the lecturers in large towns refused to receive the holy communion.

1654] It has been often asserted and in many cases proved, that some of the dissenting sects during the great Rebellion arose from Popish priests who pretended to be Protestants, and encouraged all kinds of extravagant religious opinions, in order that by dividing the people, the church might be more weakened, and a better opportunity opened for the conversion of the people to Rome. There is much truth in these statements. Popish priests were very busy in this period (1640 to 1660.) Some of the dissenting preachers were nothing more than Jesuits in disguise. No less than 23 priests were secretly in the county at this period, and many of them doubtless encouraged all kinds of religious absurdities.† The increase of the Quakers was much advanced by Popish emissaries from Rome,‡ who preached and spoke amongst them.

During the interval between 1649 and 1660 the utmost latitude of extravagance was permitted to all sects and every kind of religious opinion. Two hundred different religions existed, and the mass of the people could not tell where true religion was to be found. All these men asserted that the Spirit was with them, and made God the author of division and not of unity. Infidelity, blasphemy, and the grossest superstition prevailed to an alarming extent, and fears began to be entertained that the nation would relapse into heathenism or some gross form of idolatry. The restoration of Charles the Second to the throne and the Episcopal church to her birthright, checked this vast flood of ungodliness. But many evils arose from those men who resisted that conformity which the welfare of religion required. Stowmarket is famous

NUMBER OF SECTS.

for having been the residence of some of the eminent Nonconformists in the county.

1662] The Act of Uniformity was passed, which obliged all clergymen in the Episcopal Church of England to conform to her ceremonies, or resign their livings. The act was right in principle, but it pressed without exception on those who had been ordained under the Presbyterian, Independent, and other denominations, was questionable in prudence, and experience leads us to doubt its wisdom in providing no temporary retreat for many active-minded and pious men. The majority were misled into schism, and unacquainted with its tendencies and evils. But most of them were stiff and determined opposers of primitive antiquity. They disliked and some abhorred Episcopacy and eschewed the Prayer Book. They usurped in numberless cases the livings of the ejected Episcopalian, and this measure had been accompanied with grievous hardship, had been carried out in many cases with so much vulgar cruelty, and was so unjust in most of its details and in all its principles, that a retributive act could hardly be unexpected, nor did it take any one by surprise. There were three classes of ministers who deprived themselves voluntarily of their livings by refusing to conform. First, those who had been instrumental in overthrowing the crown and church as ancient Presbyterians, and whom we cannot much pity because they had been such traitors to the church. Secondly, fanatical illiterate and some pious men, who without any call but by a factious parochial party had obtained livings in the church, and whose ordination had been the democratic form of *vox populi*. Thirdly, a highly respected and laborious class of ministers, who had been bred up and educated for the ministry as Presbyterians or Independents, and were unacquainted with, and could scarcely have obtained if they had wished it, Episcopal ordination. These gentlemen's scruples and retirement from the church we must deplore and pity. If three years had been given them to conform, one half, it is likely, would have acceded to this measure of necessity, and the church must have been strengthened by their support. But as it was,

* *Rymer's Fœderæ*, vol. xx, 107.

† *Thurlow's Papers*, 3, 23.

‡ *Ibid*, 117.

PRESBYTERIANS.

they left her walls, and in many cases increased the difficulties of her position, involving themselves and their descendants still further in those miserable factions movements, and that schismatical spirit which is a slow poison to itself and an evil disease in the catholic church of Christ.*

Amongst these last is to be classed the Rev. J. *Meadows*, sometime rector of Ousden in Suffolk, and who came in 1670 to Stowmarket where he resided for several years, and was the first Dissenting minister that officiated privately to the very small body in this town, then dissatisfied with the termination of the usurpation and the restoration of the king to the throne. Amongst the *first class* must be placed Mr. *Fairfax*, rector of Barking, who on retiring from that living, began at Needham to collect as many people together as served in a short time to form a numerous dissenting congregation. Mr. *Fairclough*, rector of Ketton, who resided also at Stowmarket, did not officiate, nor was there any meeting-house erected here until about 1721.† On its completion the Needham meeting declined. But at the above period this small town (Needham), was the attractive centre for Dissenters from Stowmarket, Battisford, and the surrounding neighbourhood. Here Mr. Fairfax a man of ability and controversial piety officiated, assisted occasionally by Mr. *Meadows*, and in after times the celebrated Dr. *Priestly* preached both in Stowmarket and Needham, but his Socinianism was at that time rather too prominent in his sermons for these congregations. No meeting or visible congregation could be raised at Stowmarket for many years after the Restoration. The spirit of church loyalty was too strong, and the Royalists had suffered too severely for the men of that generation to admit their principles and party amongst them. After the resignation of Barking by Mr. Fairfax he preached

FIRST DISSENTERS IN STOWMARKET.

also at Ipswich. In the latter town he delivered the sermon at the opening of a meeting house called the *Primitæ Synagoga*.* He had been violently placed as fellow in Cambridge by the Earl of Manchester in 1644. But retributive justice followed all these men, for he was obliged to resign his living in 1661. He died at Barking A.D. 1700 in the 77th year of his age. These ministers much promoted dissent and injured the church, by remaining in daily intercourse with their former parishioners and promoting schismatical opinions in the parish.†

Mr. Blackerby the patron of Stowmarket had presented Mr. *Storer* as vicar before the Restoration; he had been episcopally ordained and might have continued, but he retired from the living before the passing of the act. The political severity of the times obliged him to complete retirement, and he supported himself by keeping a school. All these persons were free to live as they pleased, and the only restriction was on the exercise of their ministry. If they conformed to the Establishment, they could have entered her pulpits, and if they did not, it was only required that they should erect no new pulpits of their own. This was the whole of the hardship in cases where men lost little or nothing by giving up a poor living.‡

The church however and the whole nation have been suffering and still feel the festering wounds produced by this act of corrosive uniformity. *MODERATION* is the motto of the Church of England since the Revolution of 1688, and she cannot be too firm or too tender in maintaining truth, and in pressing that truth on the minds of her opponents.

In 1654 before the downfall of Cromwell Mr. *Meadows* was employed in the "despatches in the Latin language," and possessed those facilities for serving his friends by a ready access to the government, which his peculiar situation as assistant secretary to Milton afforded. In fact the whimsical vanity of

* The first separatists had many scruples upon the lawfulness of their own acts, and believed them to be schism.—*Meadow's Life by Taylor*, p. 47.

† "The Suffolk Batholemeans," a memoir of Rev. S. *Meadows*, by Edgar Taylor, esq. lent to me by the Rev. *Meadows Rodwell*, rector of St. Ethelberga, London, and one of his descendants.

* Nat. *Fairfax*, M.D. of Woodbridge was a son.—*Taylor's Life of Meadows*, p. 66.

† *Jermyn M.S.* 8199.

‡ See chap. VI of the previous work and throughout, Mr. Harmer's account of Dissent in Stowmarket and p. 8 pref.

MR. MEADOWS.

writing all despatches in Latin must have led to the revelation of many state secrets, and was calculated to lower the dignity and impede the course of the English government.* Mr. Meadows attended with some other ejected ministers the parish churches after his Nonconformity. They spoke of the Establishment with affection, and worshipped in the church with reverence. This was a very general feeling amongst these ministers, and in this respect the first dissenting congregations were of a very different spirit and practice to those which have succeeded them. In 1670 Mr. Meadows boarded with Mr. Crane.† This gentleman resided in Stowmarket in Crow Street, and was a relation of that Sir R. Crane, to whom reference has been made in 1602. The vicar Blackerby who was presented by his uncle after Mr. Storer's retirement, was a high churchman, but a man of moderation and peace. Mr. Meadows therefore in selecting this town for a residence probably estimated aright the quiet he should possess in his retirement.‡ He married as a second wife Sarah Fairfax, the niece of the ejected Mr. Fairfax the great leader of Nonconformity in Suffolk, who lived and died at Needham. They were of the same family as the famous Lord Fairfax the General under the Commonwealth. She died in 1687-8. He then removed to Bury, and there married a Miss Beaumont, daughter of an eminent cloth manufacturer of Bildeston. In 1696 he died himself and was buried in Stowmarket by the side of his beloved wife,|| and entered into that peaceful felicity, where good men will deplore without unhappiness and yet with wonder the sad mistakes they have made in departing from those Episcopal principles, which Christ himself and his Apostles had established.

Mr. John Meadows his son was minister of the Dissenting Congregation at Needham in 1701. He chose Dissent and forgot that it was schism, whereas his father conceived that he was forced to dissent and

* *Thurlow's State Papers*, 3, 36.

† His Pockst Book, p. 57.

‡ I explain his motives in a different way to Mr. Taylor p. 62, as I am more acquainted with Mr. B's character.

|| Vide note at the end of the section. The name is rightly *Meadowes*.

DR. PRIESTLY—MR. FAIRCLOUGH.

yet could not be deprived of his sacred character as a clergyman, and doubted much whether even then it was not schism. There is a wide distinction in the principles of the two cases of father and son,* which are also the distinctions between old and modern Dissenters.

The change of name from Presbyterian to Independents occurred here about the year 1790.† This marks an utter rejection of the old Nonconformist principles, and in many cases of their doctrine. Arianism it is said was vigorous in these congregations, and Socinianism is its certain fruit.‡ From 1755 to 1758 the celebrated Dr. Priestly officiated at Needham as Dissenting minister, and preached in Stowmarket, and his principal friend was Mr. Tayler of this last town, who afterwards was minister at Carter Lane, London. This gentleman was an acknowledged Arian.

In the year 1677 the Rev. Samuel Fairclough died in the town and lies buried at the foot of the altar steps in the chancel. His tombstone describes him as "that eminent divine," and he was rector of Ketton for many years. He was born at Haverhill, April 29, 1594.|| His tombstone is much worn with the numerous feet that have passed over his remains since he entered into his rest. But his age is distinctly stated there to be 81. I think it likely that Baxter was mistaken, for he ought according to him to have died in 1675, rather than that his family with whom he lived in Stowmarket should have mistaken his age on his grave.

The family was respectable and came from Lancashire, and he received his education under the famous Mr. Robotham, and was sent at fourteen to the University with this commendation from his master—"that he was the best scholar he had ever sent forth in the thirty years' time he had been a master." "He received serious impressions in his heart betimes under the ministry of Mr. Sam. Ward, then lecturer of Haverill." At Cambridge he was under the tuition of Mr. Berry of Queen's, and after two years "hard study" by the interest of Dr. Tyn-

* Page 95.

† *Terror*.

‡ *Baxter's Life and Times*, ch. 9.

FAIRCLOUGH—BLACKERBY.

dal he became sub-tutor to Spencer Lord Compton, eldest son of the Earl of Northampton. He would have travelled abroad with this young gentleman, but out of deference to his mother's fondness in keeping him at home, he declined the honourable and pleasing employment. He then retired for the advantages of study into the house of "Mr. Richard Blackerby, of Ashen in Essex, an eminent divine greatly skilled in the Hebrew tongue, and reputed one of the holiest men on earth."^{*} During this time "he preached occasionally in the most noted towns in Essex and Suffolk, with great acceptance." This included Stowmarket which was then a place of considerable trade and had in it several large clothiers, employing some hundreds in the town and neighbourhood in spinning, carding, and weaving woolen cloth.[†] At length he was fixed at Lynn in Norfolk, where the magistrates allowed him 50*l.* per annum to be their lecturer. But as he objected to use the sign of the cross in baptism, and in other ways offended against the rubric, he was complained against in the Norwich ecclesiastical court, and resigned his lectureship.

Mr. Fairclough after this accepted a smaller lectureship at Clare in our county, "where he had not been long before Sir Nat. Barnadiston (that ornament of his country for piety and integrity,) who was his frequent auditor, sent him without his at all seeking for it the presentation of the living of *Barnadiston*." Here he preached twice every Sunday, once upon every festival day, and once a month a preparation sermon for the Lord's Supper. He catechised young and old, visited all in his parish once a month, enquiring into the state of their souls, and counselling and directing them as there was occasion.

Sir Nathaniel his patron, sometime afterwards presented him to *Ketton*, and institution was procured, without his having subscribed to the articles or prayer book! How this was done it is not said. Nor is it likely that the institution was legal. In

^{*} This clergyman is some relative of the High Sheriff Blackerby who resided for so many years at Chilton house, and was such a distinguished ornament to Stowmarket whilst he lived, and a benefactor when dead.

[†] M. S. of charity gifts and wills in my hands.

FAIRCLOUGH.

this parish he continued for 36 years, and preached four times a week, twice on Sunday and once on Thursday, with a sermon on Saturday evening. His labours here were productive of great and abundant fruit, a great profession of godliness was made by the parish, and numbers were truly holy in their lives. He preached twice before the justices at Bury, he having been joined in the commission for the purpose of discovering and condemning witches.^{*} He acted with the judge and took his authority from the rebel parliament! such were the effects of a departure from Church of England principles in good men that they could not discern light from darkness.[†]

Mr. Fairclough was offered the mastership of Trinity College, but declined it. He was named as one of the assembly of Westminster divines but got himself excused. His opinions were held between extremes, and he deplored the lengths to which his party became driven at last by others more cunning and less honest than themselves. The Act of Uniformity, passed on the restoration of Charles the Second and by which all incumbents were obliged to subscribe to the 39 articles and prayer book, he would not accept. He resigned his preferment of Ketton, and then lived for several years in this town "in solitude and religious exercises," with his son Mr. S. Fairclough, who was Churchwarden for some years, and lies buried in the chancel near his pious and conscientious father. Mr. F. did not preach or hold any separate meeting after leaving Ketton. He considered himself a member though not a legal minister in the communion of the church. His moderation was exemplary, his piety exalted, his learning profound, his end was peace, and his rest is glorious.

His son with whom he lived occupied the western corner house in Stowupland Street, adjoining Regent Street.

"He was a Boanerges in the pulpit, an admirable preacher, both very judicious and moving. A man of great gravity, tempered with a surprising sweet-

^{*} See chapter on Witches, p. 169.

[†] Hutchinson's Hist. of Witches, p. 65.

JENNINGS—DAVIS—FAIRFAX—MEADOWS.

ness." His moderation may be seen in this answer given to one who consulted him about conforming to the act. "If a man lived holily and walked humbly with God, he should ever love him notwithstanding his *conformity*; but if he were proud, contentious, and profane, he could never think well of him for his *nonconformity*."^{*}

Mr. Richard Jennings, rector of COMBS, resigned his living on the same grounds.[†] So also did Mr. Davis of CREETING. And Mr. Nathaniel Fairfax of NEWTON. Mr. Havill of WEST CREETING afterwards on reflection and by seeing the evils of too narrow a conscience, conformed, obeyed the act, and retained his living. So also did Mr. J. Fairclough, youngest son of the venerable man whose life I have thus sketched out, but I cannot find the living to which he was admitted.

In 1775 the chapel at Needham was closed, and so remained for some years. In 1793 it was re-opened, and in 1837 was re-built on a uselessly large plan. Mr. John Meadows died in 1757, having been 56 years minister, and owing to his independent fortune alone the place was kept open. The father and son thus lived and saw the extraordinary times and changes from 1622 in James the First, to within three years of George the First, or 1757.[‡]

Extracts from the Burial Register of Stowmarket in connection with the Rev. Mr. Meddow.

"1678 Mrs. Elizabeth Meddow-e was buried the 28th day Dec. 1688 Thomas the son of Mr. John Meddow was buried the 22nd Aug. 1696 Mr. John Meddows of Bury St. Edmunds, clerk, March 1."

RECENT ELECTIONS IN STOWMARKET,
FROM 1750 TO 1800.

The passions, humorous scenes, and English peculiarities of our popular elections, have been all repeatedly presented within the small circuit of the town. The church itself has been occasionally in wet weather desecrated by the admission of the crowd,

* Baxter, chap. 9.

† *Ibid.*

^t In 1794 the Quakers no longer visible—Presbyterians became Independents—Baptists were unknown—Methodists were not in existence.

In 1721—4 Quakers in both parishes—22 Presbyterians—8 Independents. *Terriers* (Stowmarket.)

PLACE OF COUNTY MEETING.

whilst the candidates ascended and made their political harangues from the pulpit. Disgraceful struggles on the stairs in securing its elevated position are said to have taken place. The want of a town-hall in the market-place, which is now happily and spiritedly remedied, caused at times these unhallowed liberties with God's ancient house of prayer. Every house in the neighbourhood of the market-place was filled on these occasions with parties attached to each candidate; and all the roads leading into the town became animated with throngs of eager politicians, with horsemen and carriages, with ladies and crowds of gentry and yeomen, each bearing the colours that denoted their opinions, whose ascendancy was to change or preserve the constitution of the country.

On some occasions so many thousands have poured into the town that every morsel of bread, meat, cake, and consumable article has been eaten up, and hundreds have been obliged to wait till more was procured and baked, or have returned home hungry, and as needs must be, bad tempered. Money was often thrown by hand freely amongst the crowds for a scramble. Ribbands were cast about by handfuls, and the beautiful Lady Sarah, mentioned in this chapter, cast money herself most freely "in handfuls of silver amongst the people." The meetings were sometimes held in the Camping Land, in the market place, in the church yard, and for a short time in the church! Carriages and six horses were not unfrequent equipages, with outriders and trains of servants. Sometimes the whole town has been illuminated, as when Mr. Wollaston of Finborough hall was returned, or any one (of the Tyrell family) more immediately connected with the place.*

I have before me a well-written pamphlet published in London in 1772,[†] giving "a history of the four last elections for the county of Suffolk,"—"as usual at Stowmarket," and making many curious though incidental remarks upon those ancient assemblages of

* Parish Clerk's local papers, &c.—*R. Eefer.*

[†] It belonged to "Bamford's Coffee-house," wherever that is or was in London. Some noted Suffolk house I conjecture.

ELECTION CONTESTS.

the county in our town. "Sir Cordell Firebrace and Mr. Affleck were elected and re-elected without dissension or disagreement for a long series of years," during the reign of George the Second. "A previous meeting generally declared at Stowmarket the sense of the county." On the death of "the good old king, on whose venerable brow the British crown shone with unfaded lustre," the nation was involved in new political contests arising from new measures adopted by the court. The Earl of Bute, a scotchman, supported the son of Sir. H. Bunbury; discord and political differences agitated the whole county, for "this (says the bitter pamphlet) is a game the scotchman has always played whenever opportunity presented itself, division having been *ab origine* his rule of government."

Sir John Rous "a gentleman of fortune of an old family, much beloved in the county," and Mr. Holt were the candidates of the gentry, in opposition to the ministry of Lord Bute. "A great appearance at Stowmarket" in favour of Mr. Bunbury was obtained.* A grievous quarrel ensued between some of the parties, and an account of the promises made and broken, of the usual misunderstandings, and words altered, denied, or eaten again, was circulated by Mr. Affleck. At "the general meeting at Stowmarket," warm altercations for some time agitated and distracted an immense concourse of people. And the proceedings terminated by the candidates agreeing to draw lots for any future representation. The character of our members for many years had been characterized by sobriety of thought, steadiness of principle, and attachment to the institutions in church and state. But one of the new members produced some "novelties in a Suffolk member." He was "violently attached to horse racing and "gambling of all sorts." He ran a race with a taylor at Newmarket of a hundred yards for a hundred pounds. "His only application was given to cards, chances, and calculations." *Arthurs* and *Almack's* engrossed his whole time, and the men of Suffolk "dreaded the fatal consequences of having their liberties entrusted to such a man."—An honourable character of a great and

LADY SARAH BUNBURY.

independent constituency, which has not been forgotten in our own days, may it ever exist in all its ancient vigour and pervade the boroughs as well as the county.

In 1768 another election and contest began. The town was crowded with equipages and fashion, whilst thousands of the freeholders found themselves straitened in their old place of meeting. The promise previously made of drawing lots was broken by the gambling member, and the language of the baronet was, "I am in, gentlemen, turn me out if you can." Ladies then sometimes forgot their position during the excitement of an election, and if they possessed beauty and grace, their personal solicitations often gained an otherwise hopeless contest. "He had a most powerful assistant in his *Fair Lady*. There was no resisting so beautiful a solicitress, and many a gentleman determined in his heart to oppose Sir Charles, was overcome by the charms of this angelic woman, and dropped all resentment against the offending husband." "The solemn agreement at Stowmarket was forgotten." "A great appearance of independent county gentlemen" was made "at Stowmarket." The beauty of the lady had secured the husband's seat it was supposed, but Mr. Holt the third candidate withdrew, and thus Sir J. Rous and Sir Charles were elected without opposition in 1768.

In 1771 another nomination, even more numerous than the preceding, occurred in our ancient County Town. One of the members could not speak. The multitude and his own broken promises "stopped him short," and shame denied him utterance.* Mr. Holt and Sir Charles Bunbury were elected, and young Sir J. Rous, of whom a high character is given, retired. The successful candidates published addresses to the county from their inns in the town dated Nov. 13, 1771; and thanked "the very numerous and respectable appearance of gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders at a meeting at Stowmarket," for the honour of their election.† This pamphlet to the freeholders of Suffolk is dated at Lowestoft, Feb. 11, 1772. It is written by a strong partisan of the *Rous* family and an equally strong opponent of the *Bunbury* family.

* Page 9.

+ Two still existing clubs.

* Page 34.

+ Page 37.

ELECTIONS.

bury interest, whom he accuses of having broken the peace of the county. The safety of the nation he thought depended upon triennial parliaments! We have passed triumphantly through enormous difficulties since those days, and still survive as a nation more powerful than before. Our safety is in our national Protestant Episcopal Church, and the principles of religion and politics which it teaches. When she was overthrown, the nation was involved in miserable civil wars and bloodshed. Or when a contested succession produced foreign invasion and divided allegiance, we became oppressed by a Conqueror and his alien followers. If we keep our stand by the ancient land-marks of the Constitution in Church and State, we need not dread either intestine or foreign foes, but when these are deserted, revolution, private distress, and bloodshed invariably follow.

1784] An election was held for the county, and Joshua Grigby, esq. a benefactor to the town was returned, whose character is thus described in one of the publications of the day. "With whose attachment to the cause of liberty in all its branches, and aversion to aristocratic influence, they (the electors) were well acquainted, and their exertions in his favour were finally successful."* The county has always been remarkable for its independent spirit. And so they proved it, for not being satisfied with the tendencies of Whig principles, in the next election, Sir G. Vanneck who was of similar sentiments to Mr. Grigby was thrown out, and Sir T. C. Bunbury returned, the numbers being—

Sir T. C. Bunbury	3065
Sir J. Rous	2755
Sir G. Vanneck	2047

STOWMARKET NAVIGATION.

The river *Gipping* rises by a small spring in that hamlet, and winds gradually through many bright peaceful meadows between Stowupland and Old New-

THE GIPPING.

ton, and thence it passes by Stonebridge, still gently descending, until it enters the flat willow-covered meadows to the north of Stowmarket, and then finds out the town. Near Stonebridge is the ancient scene of conflict referred to in chapter 6, where two hostile nations fought for life and lands, and whose deadly strife still yields bones and scraps of iron to the labourer's spade. This small stream after passing beside the ancient angler's Inn, called the Pickerel, and running through the town, unites with another stream coming from Rattlesden, and it then becomes broader, deeper, and in the 12th or 13th centuries was unquestionably navigable for vessels of some burden, or boats from Ipswich to a bridge near Rattlesden.* This navigation appears to have been neglected after serving the purposes of the abbey at Bury. Bridges existed in 1602 at Stow, Needham, Bramford, Sproughton, and Stoke near Ipswich.† The inhabitants of the town do not appear to have employed it, except on very rare occasions. They brought in the 17th century some of the bells for the church, which had been recast at Ipswich, by boats to Stowmarket.‡ But as the river was unaided by the hand of art, and preserved all its natural and most numerous windings in its rich oozy bed, it would seem to have been left to enjoy its own quiet and preserve, amid the quivering shades of its poplars and willows those deep pools of rest in which the voracious pike and unwieldy bream delight to live. The meditative angler may even now find much to soothe and cheer him on its banks. But in these days and down to the year 1790, the Gipping presented a scene of quiet beauty, peculiarly English, undisturbed, and partaking of the gentle features of the richly wooded park, or verdant farm. And once or twice when crossing the turnpike road, it only entered the bustle of man's life again to steal onwards as if a river loved to dream, or studied to lengthen out a brief life, before it yielded its existence into the arms of the Orwell, and so was wound into

* *History of Boroughs*, vol. 2, 511. There is some information about the parliamentary contests in the county boroughs which is curious in this work.

† See chapter 6, p. 20.

‡ *Suff. Brev. M.S. Harl. L65. 8200.*

§ *Town Chest M.S.*

THE ORWELL.

a prolonged course of more than 16 miles, and then became lost in the Ipswich harbour.*

1586] Hollinshed in his Chronicle thus states the original of the name Orwell, which is the name given to the Gipping, the Stowmarket river, when it reaches Ipswich. "The Ure riseth in Hartismere and thence descendeth into Stow Hundred by Gipping, Newton, Dagworth, and Stow. Beneath which it matcheth with a water coming from Rattleden by Onehouse, and so going on to Needham, and so into the Ure. At the mouth whereof is a marvellous deep and large pit, whereof some mariners say they could never find the bottom, and therefore calling it a well, and joining the name of the river withall, it cometh to passe that the haven there is called *Ure-well*, for which in these days we do pronounce it Orwell." Is this pit now converted into the dock? When the river Gipping was made navigable to Stowmarket numbers of very deep and dangerous pits were found in the stream between the town and Ipswich.

In 1790 all this repose was disturbed by the enterprise of some gentlemen around Stowmarket and in the town. Mr. Grigby, of Drinkstone park appears to have been, in conjunction with Mr. Wollaston, of Finborough hall,† the first movers and promoters of a plan for widening, deepening, straightening, and improving the hitherto dreamy river into a busy, bustling, profitable navigation. To effect this change and dissipate its poetic sleep, they merely wanted the mighty wand of an Act of Parliament, and this having been procured, with power to raise £20,300, they carried the sound and movements of 200 spades and pickaxes into all the undisturbed depths of the astonished river, and after three years hard labour, succeeded in crowning the brows of the River God of the Gipping, with wreaths of commercial corn, with coal dust from Newcastle, and the offspring of the fir tree in Canada. £14,300 was

PROCEEDINGS.

originally subscribed, and by mortgage or annuities at ten per cent. the trustees were permitted to borrow £6000. In 1793 they required more money and a new act to empower them to raise it. This was also obtained and the total expense including fifteen locks amounted to £26,263 10s. This debt existed in the hands of 36 shareholders, and for some years past the shares have been steadily quoted at 10 and 6 per cent. It was not completed with much skill at first. The lockage was defective, the depth insufficient, the original windings of the stream were too generally preserved. But it has been improving for the last twenty years, and is now a profitable concern and most useful to the town. It is its main artery, and without it, commercial life would beat but faintly in the market.*

The interests of the river are managed by a body of six trustees who are elected by a controlling body of commissioners which is composed of any one who chooses to qualify, and resides within ten miles of any part of the said navigation, and is possessed of freehold or copyhold estate of £100 per annum, or personal estate of £2000. The body of the trustees equip a barge annually and assemble a large party, who enjoy the hospitality of these gentlemen as they proceed leisurely on its winding stream to inspect their works and the condition of the navigation.

The river ran formerly through Bosuer-mere, a large piece of water belonging to Sir Wm. Middleton, and it was then 70 or 80 feet deep, but now it has filled in and the depth is not more than 20. This small lake was formerly of great extent covering part of the valley, and gave the name to the Hundred. The deepest part of the present river is a hole near Bailham pond, which is 18 feet deep. Instead of now going through the mere it is cut through by the side. There are several deep holes throughout its whole length between Ipswich and Stowmarket.

The rise of ground by lockage from Ipswich to Stowmarket is 93 feet. This is overcome by 15 locks. So that the town of Stowmarket, or the church, stands

* Boyce 1618 says it runneth to Stowe, &c. then naming the various places it never ceaseth until it drowneth itself in the bottomless well in the mouth of the haven named of old from the said river Urewell. 8200 *Jermyn M.S. Additions*, b. 33. *Hari. Lib.*

† Trustees M.S. in the hands of Mr. Hart, Stowmarket.

* The first Trustees—Wm. Wollaston, of Great Finborough, J. Wenyeye, of Brettenham, Joshua Grigby, the younger of Drinkston, Robert Walpole, of Beighton, esqr. Henry Hill, of Buxhall and Henry Jackson Close, of Hitcham, clerks, June 1790, met April 19 first time.

FISH.

120 feet above the former town. St. Peter's tower in Ipswich is level with the head of the water in Stowmarket. Bury rises above this again at least 100 feet. This is a singular fact in the geology of this part of the kingdom.

The fish in which the Gipping waters abound are roach, perch, carp, horned carp, tench, gudgeon, pike, and *bream* between Bosmere-mere and Ipswich, but not between the mere and Stowmarket. Eels of course are to be found everywhere. Pike have been taken of $22\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.; but small pike are most numerous, and an ancient Inn on the bank in Stowpland has long borne the name of the Pickerel or little pike, from the great sport afforded to anglers. Bream abound in the mere, and 70 or 80 have been caught at a time in its mouth by a net. Perch also are there to be found waiting for the successful angler, and weighing 4 or 5 lbs. These fellows however are caught on lines as robbers of bait intended for pike. Roach of four and five pounds on a summer's day will take a bit of bread greedily off the hook. Eels of five pounds and more have been caught in the water wheels of the mills on the river. About three or four

TONNAGE.

miles below the town the water becomes so clear that the bottom may be distinctly seen, and continues thus till near Ipswich. From the barges the men spear the eels as they pass onwards.

The whole distance from the Quay at Ipswich to Stowmarket is 16 miles tonnage measure, but the net distance is 14. The average number of barges passing backwards and forwards is 30 per week. The barges take about seven hours to go down to Ipswich. The average depth is five feet. Muscles of large size and in great abundance exist. Otters also are still to be found. There is scarcely a pond or large water, in its whole length, in which people have not been drowned either accidentally or by suicide. And at Handford near Ipswich, the place is notorious for the number of people who there drown themselves. The river is now much deeper, and has become so gradually. Where 18 tons was brought when it was first formed, now 30 tons can easily float, and where three days were taken to run from Stowmarket, ten hours will suffice.*

* J. Fenton and others examined.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 1692 TO 1785 AND 1843.

SMALL-POX.

SOME time after the plague of small-pox in the last year, when the town had recovered in a measure its tone of enterprizing activity and its prosperity, the parishioners purchased a house for the reception of small-pox patients. It was then a lone place, called the sick or pest-house, and from it *sick-house lane* derives its origin. The entries connected with its management are striking evidences of the existence of this shocking disease for 60 or 70 years. But

MR. FFARR.

no such fearful desolation afflicted the town as in 1690. The removal of the patients to the sick house was instantly carried into effect and thus the contagion was arrested.

1692 to 97] That they did not dislike their vicar Mr. *Ffarr* is evident, for both parishes united in the important matter of paying for his "dinner at the generals." The Upland contributing the large sum of 1s. 3d. and Stowmarket 2s. 6d. The smallness of

GREAT STORM.

the sum is nothing, it is the kindness which the entry displays that is pleasing. At this period for some years two annual "visitations" were held by the Archdeacon; the one at Bury or Woolpit, and the other at Stowmarket. The Uplanders also as well as Stowmarket never forgot ringing, dinnering, and other loyal things on the king's "crownation day." For here the old horror of Popery chimed in very well with their attachment to the throne, as William was altogether a Protestant prince.*

1698] A large silver flagon holding a gallon with a lid, was presented by J. Carter, esq. to the church for the holy sacrament.† This is his worthy and his only memorial in the parish.

1696 to 1714] The papers of these dates belonging to *Stowmarket* are all gone. Some furtive hand and many barbarous ones have been in old times busy with our papers. Not a few valuable historical and most curious records have been taken away. The residue were torn, crumpled, and maltreated. No reverence had been shown to their yellow time-worn faces, and much pains was necessary to smooth down their ancient wrinkles and induce them to speak as they have done. It has not been an easy task to open the mouth of the "*verborum prisca vetustas*."

1703] The spire of our church is a very ancient ornament, and at this date was about 100 feet from the tower, but it was blown down by the great storm on Friday, the 26th of November. The wind began to blow at midnight and continued with tremendous fury until seven o'clock in the morning of the 27th. De Foe, the celebrated author of *Robinson Crusoe* and a multiplicity of other works, collected an account of numerous particulars connected with its ravages in different parts of the kingdom, and begins his account with the following letter sent to him from Stowmarket.

A letter from the Rev. Mr. Farr and the Churchwardens of Stowmarket to Mr. de Foe.

Sir,

Having seen an advertisement of a design to perpetuate the remembrance of the late dreadful storm, by

* 1698 begin separate register books for Stowpland, as from 1559 to this date the registrations are in the same book for the Upland as well as for Gipping.

† *Ex dono Johannis Carter, A.D. 1698.*

GREAT STORM.

publishing a collection of all the remarkable accidents occasioned by it, and supposing the damage done to our church to be none of the least, we were willing to contribute something to your design, by sending you an account thereof, as follows. We had formerly a spire of timber covered with lead of the height of 77 foot, which being in danger of falling was taken down; and in the year 1674, with the addition of 10 loads of new timber, 21 thousand and 8 hundred weight of lead, a new one was erected 100 foot high from the steeple, with a gallery at the height of 40 foot all open, wherein hung a clock bell of between two and three hundred weight. The spire stood but eight yards above the roof of the church, and yet by the extreme violence of the storm, a little before six in the morning the spire was thrown down; and carrying with it all the battlements on the east side, it fell upon the church at the distance of 28 foot; for so much is the distance between the steeple and the first breach, which is on the north side of the middle roof, of the length of 17 foot, where it brake down nine spars clean, each 23 foot long, and severally supported with very strong braces. The spire inclining to the north fell cross the middle wall, and broke off at the gallery, the lower part falling in at the aforesaid breach, and the upper upon the north aisle, which is 24 foot wide, with a flat roof lately built, all new and very strong. It carried all before it from side to side, making a breach 37 foot long, breaking in sunder two large beams that went across, which were 12 inches broad and 15 deep, besides several other smaller. Besides these two breaches, there is a great deal of damage done by the fall of great stones upon other parts of the roof, as well as by the wind's riving up the lead, and a third part of the pews broken all in pieces, every thing falling into the church, except the weather-cock, which was found in the church-yard, at a considerable distance in the great path that goes cross by the east end of the church. It will cost above £400 to make all good as it was before. There were three single chimneys blown down, and a stack of four more together, all about the same time, and some others so shaken that they were forced to be pulled down; but, we thank God, nobody hurt, though one bed was broken in pieces that was very oft lain in, but nobody lay in it that night. Most houses suffered something in their tiling, and generally all round the country there is incredible damage done to churches, houses, and barns.

SAMUEL FARR, Vicar.
JOHN GAUDY
WILLIAM GARRARD. } C. Wa.
De Foe's Storm, 85. 2nd ed.

The wind blew during the whole storm between the points of S. W. and N. W. The lead on the tops of the churches and other buildings was in many places rolled up like a sheet of parchment. Twenty-one persons were killed in London. All the neighbouring towns in our county were wofully shattered.* A thousand gentleman's seats in England were injured by having trees, chimneys, garden walls, and parks dismantled and blown down. In the New

* A letter from Sudbury.

GREAT DESTRUCTION.

Forest, Hampshire, 4000 large trees were rooted up. One hundred churches covered with lead were unroofed. Above 400 wind-mills were overset, broken, or fired by the sails going round with such velocity in the night that the friction of the wheels set the mills on fire. Seven steeples were quite blown down, and above 800 dwelling houses were destroyed. 123 people by the accounts thus collected were killed, besides those maimed or wounded. Lightnings, flashes of fire, terrible meteors, rain in torrents, a supernatural darkness, and in the northern parts of England the shock of an earthquake added to the horrors of that fearful night. In Yarmouth Roads three 70-gun ships and one 54 were lost with nearly all their crews, and in other parts eight other men of war thus perished.

In the parish records is an agreement drawn between the Churchwardens of Stowmarket and Stow-upland with several other persons for re-erecting the spire, repairing the breaches in the roof of the church, and doing all such other works as were necessary for restoring the edifice to its state before the storm. It is dated Dec. 7, 1703. They paid 39*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* for mending the roof and were allowed to use the old stuff. But the steeple is not included. Rich. Corke and Wm. Muskettworsted weavers are the Churchwardens of Stowmarket; and Thomas Rutter and James Pyman yeomen Churchwardens of Stowupland.* "Between three and four hundred pounds worth of damage was done by the fall of the spyre."† The north aisle was chiefly the sufferer, and the windows at each end, which rose then in a beautiful arch like the window in the chancel and quite as lofty, were demolished, and are now refitted according to the then approved economical plan of Churchwardens' proceedings, with a square head nicely done up in plaster and Roman cement, whilst the battlement of the roof is faced with common pebbles instead of black flint. In the same spirit the tower is deformed with a piece of brick-work. The spirit of such times is, it is to be hoped, fast departing.

PUBLIC BEQUESTS—CREETING.

1704] The rates required for the church were so large that only one Churchwarden in the Upland would serve. A heavy debt lay upon Mr. Pyman the acting Warden, which he could not collect for some time, and it was not all paid until 1709. And in 1705 they travelled to Bury "to stop excommunication" against them for not performing their duty.

1712] Three gentlemen named Kent, Booth, and Johnson, who resided in the town, left landed property and houses to the parish for charitable uses. The first is given in gowns and coats to poor people—the second provided them with some food, and bread is distributed every Sunday to church widows and poor persons—and the third left the property, for general uses, to the poor of the parish. Such bequests are memorials of a religious faith which can never die. They speak now, and must do as long as we exist as a nation, but they will speak yet once again at the last day in behalf of those who thus assist in feeding the hungry and clothing the naked. They serve also to make us think better of man, and bind us to the past by attaching us to the church and country that have produced such faithful memorials of love and respect for her institutions.*

1719] *Creeting All Saints* was united to St. Mary in this year. But the bond proved adverse to the interests of the former parish. Two churches, one belonging to each parish, stood in one large churchyard, each distinct and possessing its own graves and sacred things. They had been built by two sisters and were as old as Doomsday. In 1803 All Saints had been pulled down by the parishioners under the colour of repairing the sister church. The bells were sold and the font became divided. Its pedestal was converted into a sun-dial in Ringshall rectory garden; its basin became a fountain in the garden of Creeting rectory. In 1843 on the erection of a new church in Stowupland, the two parts of this ancient font were presented by the respective rectors to the Holy Trinity Stowupland, where it now again admits infants into the bosom of the church. On Sunday the 3rd Sept. 1843, during the first time of divine service in the

* Parish book of Records, No. 79.
† C. W's accounts 1703.

* Charity book, p. 97.

PARISH LOYALTY.

new church, two children were thus baptized in All Saints font.

1715] Old customs were still at times revived, and continued to remind the people of the institutions of their country, and interest them in its changes. On a new monarch ascending the throne it had been customary in some places to distribute gifts in silver coin to the poor. Traces of this ancient regal charity are to be found in several of our mutilated papers. The last and most distinct one is of this period on George the First coming to the throne, and the commencement of the Hanoverian line. This succession secured the crown in the Protestant blood-royal and excluded the house of Stewart. Hence the welcome it received here, because it gave additional security against Popery, and re-awakened their scriptural zeal against Romish novelties in the church. In former times it had led them into an extreme absurdity in pulling down stained glass and lowering chancels. But it now exhibited its appropriate joy in distributing silver "groatess," or four pennies to the poor of the town. "The names of ye poor people yt received the 10 grote dole," are entered with care upon a paper.* And 115 poor persons were thus enabled to rejoice in comfort at home with fire, food, and drink upon the coronation of the first George, and pledge a merry health in a cup of good ale to his health, and for the conservation of the Protestant principles that have placed his ancestors on their throne. May such religious loyalty ever be one of the characters of our Hundred and Town! From the earliest Saxon times we have been a royal town and one of the king's manors, with regal grants and incorporation, which have now (it is to be deplored) ceased to exist. But loyalty to the crown, and attachment to the church were the inheritance of our forefathers in the Hundred, parishes, and town, and it is my prayer that the inhabitants may ever remember these sacred principles, and cause them to flourish and increase.

The number of inhabitants in the Burrough at this period was small compared with its present popula-

SMALL-POX.

tion. But persons of much wealth and respectability were resident in the neighbourhood and town.

Above the age of 16 there were in Stowmarket 780
And in the Upland of Stowmarket 276

1056

Of these in Stowmarket	3 Quakers
" "	21 Presbyterians
" "	3 Independents
	<u>27 Dissenters</u>
In Stowupland	1 Quaker
" "	5 Independents
" "	1 Presbyterian
	<u>7 Dissenters</u>

If one third more be added for children under 16, we shall have about 1400 inhabitants, where now there are 4000. The church could then accommodate the whole population, as it contained only 800 sittings notwithstanding its noble size; and parishioners had no occasion to resort to other places of worship. The *Rev. H. Darby* was now vicar.* A man of laborious pastoral care, and sober piety. "A careful vicar of the parish,"† and so great a promoter of family prayer, that he has been heard to remark at a later period of his incumbency, there was scarcely a family in either parish in which this daily blessing was not enjoyed and carefully maintained.

1718] The small-pox again commenced its ravages in this part of the county, and Ipswich was grievously afflicted with this defacing disorder. The rates began to increase. Wine, tobacco, and strong beer were allowed to the nurses at the sick-house to support them in their arduous duties. Poor travellers in passing through the town sometimes could proceed no further, and died of the disease. In this manner it was frequently conveyed from place to place; £87 per quarter was now expended on the extraordinary and the standing poor. The rate was levied at one penny per pound per week.

* Record book 63.

Terrier.

† Tomb-stone.

‡ Accounts 1736.

CHURCH OFFERINGS.

1721] A large silver plate was offered by Mrs. Cath. Saer, widow, "to God and the church of St. Peter's, Stowmarket." She was a lady of piety and worth and sleeps in the Lord, *Deo et Ecclesia Catharina Vidua Johannis Saer qui in domino requievit, 17 Cal. Novembris MDCCXXI, hanc Lancem oblitus.** The church plate in *Combs, Buzhall, Hawleigh, Wetherden, and Stowmarket* is all of silver, massive, and presented as offerings by different clergymen, gentlemen, and ladies. In the other parishes of the Hundred it is poor, and partly pewter. Is it not strange that those in a parish who eat with silver every day on their table, should have their Lord's table furnished partially with pewter, and be satisfied to receive his body and blood in a metal, at which at their own meals they would be displeased?

1724] The small-pox prevailed at Norwich, and some of the people of the Hundred going there were seized with the disorder, and the parishes paid for their attendance, burial, or cure. The dull and dreary repetition of the same items for this sickness, and the same melancholy entries for minister, clerk, and sexton, at the burial of "poor bodies," pervade the papers for several years. It is plain from these records that towns and villages would have been half depopulated by these and similar contagious disorders, if such pains had not been taken to remove them to the sick-house and arrest the disease. If vaccination is ever neglected, similar scenes of afflictive calamity would speedily beset us now.

1738] Great disputes and some legal contests arose in the parishes about the rates. People lost their tempers at paying such large sums every quarter, and many of the items were contested. After four years of increasingly bitter feelings a better spirit prevailed. A case for counsel was laid before J. Cornelius and E. Frere, and they advised the payment of arrears, concluding most sensibly "we give our advice, that you do not fall into any more disputes about what is past, but join together as friends, that the poor may be properly relieved, no body oppressed, nor yourselves put to any more unnecessary expenses by groundless disputes.†

* Church plate.

† Parish Record Book 13.

HOP GROUNDS.

1738] Hop grounds now were rated, but their earliest introduction into the papers is the year 1635, when "hop-poles were brought from Columbine-hall in Stowupland to Stowmarket."* This singular and profitable plant was introduced into our country in 1620 from Artois in France.† The tradition here is, that the first hops ever planted in England were tried in Old Newton parish, in the then hamlet of Dagworth, which together with Old Newton were then hamlets of Stowmarket. It is not unlikely that this is correct. The Flemings introduced the provence rose, carnations, and other flowers about this period into Suffolk, when they settled here as clothiers. The Dagworth hop grounds are very ancient, and as cloth mills are found in this Hundred at this early period (1520), the hop was brought by them, with many other plants, flowers, and salads. Three grounds existed in this parish in 1738. For this plant the soil is admirably adapted, and the situation of the valleys in these parishes surrounded by low hills, as may be seen from the tower of the church, affords some of the best situations for the growth of this valuable plant in any part of Suffolk. It is now cultivated here to some extent and might be much extended. The quality is peculiarly excellent and may compete with some of the best hops grown in Farnham or Kent.

1742] In August a meeting of the clergy and gentry took place at Stowmarket, for the purpose of petitioning the crown to grant a charter to an association which had been in existence for 40 years, called the *Suffolk Clergy Charity*. The poverty of many livings and of some of those who serve cures in the church is notorious. At death their widows and children are often left in most penniless circumstances. It was thought that some fund might be raised from voluntary contributions which if confined to the county, would afford a small annual pension or benefaction to those who were thus left helpless and in distress on the removal of their father and husband. This good work was begun here it is believed by the Rev. Mr. Rogers, rector of Otley, who in 1704, in conjunction with some neighbours and gentlemen,

* J. Keble's accts.

† Turner's Hist. of E. b. 2.

CLERGY CHARITY.

the sons of clergymen, and with his brethren, thus supported it by an annual collection. But it had commenced in London in 1698.* For the first ten years it only amounted to £10. In 1742 the sum distributed was £259 8s. 4d. and gifts had been received by legacy and in other ways amounting to £714. "In 1725 the number of petitioners increasing, the society found it necessary to apply more generally to the nobility and gentry by whose generous contributions the yearly collections have been very greatly enlarged, which the clergy think themselves bound to acknowledge with due honour and gratitude to them and to God who hath disposed their hearts so kindly to remember those who have laboured among them in the Lord, and have not been able to leave to their widows and children the necessary means of subsistence." It was for the security of this fund of £714 and of what might possibly be added to it by future benefactions, that the society desired to be incorporated, and "by the goodness of our most gracious sovereign (George Second) we have obtained our desire. For which, with all thankfulness, we acknowledge ourselves indebted to the Right Rev. our most worthy Diocesan who so effectually represented our case to the crown as to obtain a charter for us."† Such was the result of the meeting held at Stowmarket, and such have been its fruits, that the fund now in hand amounts to £15000, and the sum distributed to £1100 per ann. The promoters and originators of the measure have however most carefully kept back the names of all those who were assisted, as well as all mention of those amongst themselves who were most active in this work of love and goodness. Honourable be their memories as pious clergymen, and personal honour will attend them hereafter! In 1842 the Centenary of this corporation was held at Stowmarket, and a sermon preached on the occasion by the Rev. A. Hollingsworth. An influential assemblage of rank and respectability at the new Town Hall at dinner on the same day, signalized the centenary, by commencing a subscription for the erection or purchase of houses in which the widows of clergymen might live

* Sermon by Dr. Clagget at the Suffolk Feast.
† Minutes from Ipswich Treasurer's book.

SMALL-POX.

rent free. One thousand pounds towards this new fund was given by a lady* to whom the sermon, printed by the corporation, was sent, and £1300 more was obtained during the ensuing year. Three houses were purchased at Ipswich, and this branch of the charity fund so beneficial to the widow and fatherless, and accompanied with so many circumstances calculated to soothe the feelings of ladies afflicted with narrow means, will it is hoped be perpetuated and increased.†

1748] In this year the small-pox again entered the town and the books contain melancholy memorials of its violence. In the first quarter 102*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* was expended on the sick. In the second 126*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* The parishes of *Watfield, Dedham, Stowpland, and Shelland*, contributed towards the rates by some small collections. The fair and market were rated at £10 instead of £14, owing to the decreased attendance of buyers and sellers in the town. Yet not more than six or seven deaths occurred from this disease in the whole year. Whether this was owing to the skilful treatment of the then doctors we may leave the present ones to determine. But it is remarkable that of the many cases from the time in which it is first noticed to the period of its declension by vaccination, the deaths in this district are very small, and of course the recoveries were proportionably numerous. The rates amounted to the then extraordinary sum of 512*l.* 7*s.* 8*3d.*. And in 1749 the small-pox having taken itself elsewhere, they fell to £370. On taking the averages I find that nearly £200 per ann. was expended for some years in taking care of the poor in their sicknesses and sad extremities. May this be ever the practice of English Christians!

1745] The Rev. Mr. Chauvet, a French gentleman was now the vicar. In 1750 he lost his wife a beautiful woman it is believed, and "one of the best of women."‡ This loss it is likely affected his mind. He was a man of a desponding melancholy temperament, of low stature and weak voice. He languished and nurtured his sacred grief, until his reason losing

* Mrs. Sheppard, Airport.

† Sermon by the Rev. A. Hollingsworth on the Centenary Meeting of the Corporation. Published by Pawsey, Ipswich, and giving an account of the Corporation.

‡ Tomb-stone.

POPULATION.

all control over his gloomy thoughts he committed suicide, by hanging himself in one of the rooms at the vicarage in October, 1756. As a strange result his coachman hung himself the next day in the stable: * and since this melancholy event, a certain room in the vicarage enjoys the venerable reputation of being quietly haunted by a low sized gentleman in a clerical habit. On the state and truth of the haunted room it becomes me to observe a mysterious silence. The sleep in its old walls is sweet, refreshing, and profound. And those who go to bed there will not be anxious to know more than this.

1753] The population in Stowmarket was now inhabitants above 16, 780; and in Stowupland 267. In 1794, the population above 16 of both parishes was 1065, being Stowmarket 860; and Stowupland 205. Its great increase is from this period. In 1831 Stowmarket 2672 and Stowupland 826. And in 1841 Stowmarket contained 3043 and Stowupland 903—3946. It is now (1844) 4000. In 1841 there were in the former parish 203 more females than males, and in Upland 43 more males than females. From 1794 the Quakers disappeared; and the Presbyterians then became Independents. Baptists were unknown, and Methodists did not exist.

1764] The poet Crabbe received the rudiments of a sound classical and mathematical education under Mr. Samuel Haddon† in this town. His son Mr. John Haddon succeeded to his father's school and died at the age of 84 years in 1838. His widow Mrs. Haddon is still living, and from her I have gleaned some additional scraps of information about the early days of Crabbe. Whilst at school here, young Haddon was his favourite companion and intimate friend, the latter having an excellent mathematical mind,

* Tradition from his footboy who lived to be 94 and died in 1839.

† Not Richard (*Crabbe's Life*, i, 17) as I have before me the document appointing him master of the endowed school at Stonham, dated 30th Sept. 1769, signed

ROBERT BAYNES, Rector.	
LEA HAWYS, Sen.	Ch. Wardens
RICHARD WADE	Constables
THOMAS LIST	
CHRIST. TILL	

Parish Record Book.

CRABBE, THE POET.

and being a hard student. In this latter quality he was however outstripped by Crabbe "who was always at his studies." He never would play like the other boys, and "they were always worrying him about it." He was a reserved moody boy, given to book learning. Both the Haddons (father and son) were excellent scholars, good Grecians, and superior mathematicians. The boarding-school was in the churchyard in the east corner, where a row of small cottages now stands, and the school-room belonging to the parish stood where the National School is built. The elder Haddon was elected master to the endowed school at Stonham Aspal in 1769, but a bill in chancery was filed against him, and for three years he kept the school and his house there locked day and night, and at length Mr. Pask of Needham his solicitor dying suddenly in the street of that town as he was preparing for his journey to London with eleven hundred sheets of a bill against the parishioners of Stonham, the suit was suspended. Mr. Haddon's money was all spent, his anxiety of mind affected his health, and he was compelled to retire from a hopeless contest to Stowmarket, where he again commenced a private boarding school in Ipswich Street, in which he was assisted by Crabbe's school-fellow, his son, who succeeded to it on old Mr. Haddon's death in 1797. The tradition respecting Crabbe's first poetical impulse in Stowmarket, and addressed to the young belle who sported her bright blue ribbands in his eyes, is perfectly correct. It was a common topic of conversation with his ancient school-fellow after the poet's name became celebrated.*

1769] On the 9th of December, about nine in the evening, a dangerous fire burst out at Temple-bar in Bury Street, and consumed six horses with their harness in the stable of Widow Hearn, who kept the carrying establishment to London. She was so reduced by the accident as to be compelled to resort to a printed petition for relief. The horses and harness were worth 103*l.* 19*s.* The town was in danger from

* *Life by his Son*, i, 17—Mrs. Haddon's testimony.

PARISH AFFAIRS.

the fire which was happily extinguished with the loss of the bed-ridden widow's property.*

1777] The magnificent organ which stood in the church until the year 1645, and had been erected before the Reformation (1530) was destroyed by the Puritan Dissenters as related in chap. 25. The singing had been conducted from that period to this date by voices and some common instruments, but an earnest desire existed now in the parish to remedy this deficiency. A subscription was begun for the purchase of an organ. One of the most active persons in raising the funds was Mr. Baldwin, a great musician, whose sister kept a highly respectable boarding-school in the town. The funds were raised, the organ was erected, Mr. B. looked forward to its opening as the happiest day of his life, but he did not live to see the completion of his pious labours. The history of the organ is curious. It is an instrument of a celebrated master, and some of its stops notwithstanding their age, possess an excellent quality of tone. "After the Restoration another organ was erected in Walsale church, Staffordshire, by the celebrated Father Smith. This had a very handsome case, though not large, being adorned with a profusion of carving and gilding. Over the centre was a large shield of the king's arms, and over the wings were the lion and unicorn, &c. Each supported a small shield, on the one was painted the bear and ragged staff, and on the other, or, a cheveron gules, charged with a Stafford knot. This organ was repaired in 1726, but about 1772 it being through age somewhat worse for wear, a new organ was ordered. The old one was sold to Mr. George Hill an inhabitant, for the small sum of 12*l.* 10*s.* and he built a large room

* "We beg leave to recommend the poor Widow as a real object of charity." William Aldrich, Vicar.

T. Rout,	<i>Ch. Wardens</i>	G. Richardson
John Aldrich		J. Cradock
R. Rout	<i>Overseers</i>	J. Rust
J. Ranson		S. Wright
W. Broome	<i>Principal Inh.</i>	L. Munnings
J. Payne		S. Brook
E. Tyrell		T. Rust
T. B. Tyrell		J. Spencer
T. More		T. Pearle
		S. Parker

A paper from Mr. Robert Aldrich, now in Record Book.

PARISH AFFAIRS.

in his garden for its reception (since converted into a dwelling-house,) and finally sold it to the Churchwardens of Stowmarket in Suffolk, for £50, who had it repaired and enlarged, and it now stands in that church."† This description correctly describes its appearance now, saving and except the two shields which have had their designs painted out, and wait in patience for the insertion of some memorial respecting its new enlargement and repair, which it much requires.

This organ was opened on Tuesday, the 15th of April, 1777. And "the words of the anthems, songs, and choruses, which are to be performed (on that day) at the opening of a new-erected organ in Stowmarket church," were printed. "The doors will be opened at ten o'clock and the performance will begin at eleven. Tickets and books of the words may be had of W. Mills, at the post-office and most of the Inns at Stowmarket." "Mr. Remy presided at the organ." Mr. Kent and Mr. Miller arranged the anthems. Sing. Manini gave a concerto obligato, and various instruments and effective choruses, from the printed copy before me, made up a very superior arrangement of music from the Messiah and other sacred pieces.†

1785] The Rev. Wm. Hurn was curate. A man of grave and sterling piety. Plain yet forcible in his delivery. Decided in his statements of religious truth. I have a printed sermon, published by request and dedicated to his attached parishioners, in my hand, entitled "The Necessity of Immediate Repentance and a Holy Life enforced from the Parable of the Fig-tree. Preached at the parish Church of Stowmarket, on Sunday, April 10, 1785." It is strong, convincing, and energetic in its simple yet cultivated language, and is another evidence of the succession of superior and pious clergymen with which the parishes have been favoured for so many generations in past times.

The names by which the different classes of society were distinguished, continue to be the same in the

* *Jermyn's Papers, Hart. M.S. Addenda 8198. and Gentleman's Magazine.*
† Parish Clerk's Papers.

SOCIETY.

parish papers from 1559 to the close of the eighteenth century. They then begin to change, and mark a very important alteration in the condition of society, of thought, and manners. In 1790 we have *masters* and *mistresses* amongst the poor, and those who receive parish relief. But before this period, the old fashion of our forefathers, so wholesome and accompanied by so much right feeling and neighbourly good-will remains in force. The nobility, the knights, the clergy, the esquires, the gentlemen who were small landed proprietors, the yeomen who were farmers, the misters who were tradesmen, the ladye A., the dame Ursula B. who were married and single ladies, and *goodman* D., *goodye* E., *owld* Robert E., *widowe* F., define accurately the different conditions and ranks of society. *Masters* were only then found where there was an independence, and *Mistresses* only in those who kept servants. The alteration in the papers marks a change which has not been for the happiness of the people in the habits and views of the nation. Hoops and trains, swords and feathers, vanish from amongst the quality, a plainer style of dress exists in that upper class, and the evils of machinery in a flowery style of dress makes its appearance in the dependent classes from this period, and shows the divisions that exist between those classes, which when they were really better defined, produced more union and more general happiness.

From the year 1135* in which a grant of these parishes with the neighbouring hamlets of Chilton, Dagworth, and Newton was made by the crown to the abbey of St. Osythe, the town for 250 years increased in prosperity and respectability by the religious feelings of the age and the influence of the monastic clergy. It is doubtful whether it returned members to parliament as a borough very often, but it was incorporated. At the Reformation † it was distressed by the withdrawal of the sums of money and the concourse of people attending the religious processions and rites of the former ages. On the accession of Elizabeth trade entered, and the clothiers and worsted weavers brought a great and

PRESENT CONDITION.

increasing wealth into its streets. In the civil wars of Charles the First its loyalty and church principles became its ruin. It rapidly declined. At the Restoration its trade in worsted weaving once more revived, but this prosperity lasted only for a few years. After 1680 its corporation disappears, and the population was not large from 1740 to 1790, but has since this latter period again increased.*

The town has been improving for 30 years past. Of late a new Town-hall has been erected by shares, and much has been done by individuals to improve the appearance of its streets. A new Church has been also built and endowed in Stowupland, and the general aspect of the parishes is prosperous. In the Hundred, the seats at *Gipping*, *Haughley*, *Haughley park*, *Finborough*, still remain, and we must add a fervent wish for their prosperity, happiness, and increase.

The Geology of the Hundred is not marked by any striking features. Beds of clay alternate with beds of gravelly sand; in the clay pits have been found the bones of some of those large antediluvian animals now so universally known, and very large ammonites are also occasionally discovered which when cut in half and polished make handsome slabs for tables of two to three feet diameter. Smaller specimens varying from three to six inches in diameter are more common. Beneath the stiff clay of the hills, a bed of blue clay appears at a great depth, and this rests upon chalk. The town (and vicarage) stand generally on gravel or rich alluvial soil. An extensive brick-yard of very fine white manufacture exists near the town.†

Nightingales visit this Hundred and enchant the thick coppices with their moonlight melody in the spring. Glow-worms accompany them. The thrush,

* An extensive range of alms-houses existed to the middle of the eighteenth century on two sides of the church-yard, but by some mis-management they were sold by the parish officers, and this great loss to the aged poor has still to be remedied by the pious charity of some one, whose works will then be remembered at the last day.

† Belonging to Mr. Fison.

NATURAL HISTORY.

blackbird, and all our common English songsters exist here. Suffolk Jays, owls of formidable face, (brown, white, and horned,) kingfishers, snipes, and curlews, golden plovers, and water-hens are shot. Ash-coloured butcher birds, and golden-created wrens seek and fear each other. Squirrels are numerous in the relics of the ancient woods.*

Otters still exist in the stream at Finborough, but are very rarely caught. Hunting foxes, and coursing hares, with the old-fashioned hare hunt, enliven the Hundred and the hospitable tables of the resident gentry. Snipes still haunt the river meadows, but the wild ducks have deserted the valley of the Gipping since its conversion into a commercial speculation. Partridges and pheasants are numerous, and a few woodcocks may be found in the woods of Gipping, Haughley, Finborough, Onehouse wood, or Clopton hall.† The healthiness of the district stands very high amongst the longevity districts of the county;‡ and this county with Norfolk is perhaps the longest lived in the kingdom.

The seats at Finborough, Haughley, Gipping, and some of the woody nooks in the Hundred, or the more distant yet neighbouring residences of the gentry and clergy in this part of the county, may well realize much of the thought contained with slight alteration in the poet's lines—

"Oh knew he but his happiness, of men
The happiest he! who far from public rage
Deep in the vale, with a choice few retired,
Drinks the pure pleasures of the rural life—
In herbs and fruits, whatever greens the Spring
When heaven descends in showers, or bends the bough
When Summer reddens, and when Autumn beams,
Or in the wintry glebe whatever lies
Concealed, and fattens with the richest sap:
These are not wanting, nor the milky drove,
Luxuriant, spread o'er all the lowing vale;
Nor bleating (uplands), nor the chide of streams,

* See Appendix 4.
† Capt. Parker, Rattlesden.
‡ See Appendix No. 3.

ARTESIAN WELL.

And hum of bees, inviting sleep sincere
Into the guiltless breast, beneath the shade
Or thrown at large amid the fragrant hay,
Nor ought beside of prospect, grove, or song,
Dim (homesteads), gleaming (pools), and fountains clear.
Here too dwells simple truth, plain innocence,
Unsullied beauty, sound unbroken youth,
Patient of labour, with a little pleased,
Health ever blooming, unambitious toil,
Calm contemplation and poetic ease." AUTUMN.

An artesian well has been formed by Messrs. Stevens & Co. (brewers) near the church, which well repays the cost and perseverance of the enterprising proprietors in seeking for soft water for their ale and beer, that are sent in large quantities to London in iron boats of 45 tons by the canal and thence by sea without shifting the cargoes. The well occupied six months in its construction, the diameter of the bore is 9 inches at the surface and diminishes to 3 at the bottom. It is 330 feet in depth. The water at 75 feet was 52 degrees * in temperature, but at 330 it is 53, and preserves this heat at all seasons, so that in winter during frost it smokes when brought to the surface. It will yield from 2 to 300 gallons a minute and stands in the bore at 24 feet from the surface. The strata through which the boring was made will be represented thus—

Gravel	:	:	:	8 feet
Sand	:	:	:	3
Red loamy earth	:	:	:	13
Brick earth				7
Blue clay and clay with chalk stones				31
A sandy beach full of springs with sea shells, whole and broken, of the common kinds				18
Chalk, varying in solidity				250
A hard green stone rock				330

At its surface was found the soft stream of water—the rock was too hard to be penetrated.†

* Fahrenheit.

† Messrs. Stevens and Co. brewers,—their papers.

APPENDIX, No. I.

Table of the Number of CHURCHES and PARISHES in Suffolk, in the year 1086, compiled from Doomsday-book by the author, with the quantity of land each of them possessed as Glebe, or Minister's ground.

NOTE—*As the Survey is most minute and every tittle had a meaning, some of the churches are begun with a large E, others with a small one. I have therefore conjectured that the capital indicated a large church, or one of stone, and those with a small e, the old churches of timber—p. is patron—T. R. E. the reign of Edward the Confessor.*

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	BOSMERA HUND.—BOSMERE H.	Remarks.
Langhedenæ . . .	? . .	. . .	1		
Scaruerstuna . . .	Somersharn		half		
Ringheschala . . .	<i>Ringshall pars Eccles. in Bolesfort, Battisford</i>				Building incomplete
Netlestedæ . . .	Nettlestead	78	1		
Righehalam . . .	Ringshall	15	half		
Beleham . . .	Bayham	12	half		
Svmersam . . .	Somersham	7	a fourth	E.	
Offetvna . . .	Offtown or Offa's town	7	1 E.		
Codenham vel Codham	Coddenham	{ 2½ 12 8	{ half 1 E. 1		Quedam pars trium ecclesiarum: Bp. of Baieux p.
Stanham* . . .	Stonham	{ a 3rd of 5 a 3rd of 4, and 3, 16	{ Cha. E. 1		Suichel, presbyter p. Aifet, liba. femina p.
Willalveaham . . .	Willisham	32	1 E.		
Hamingestvna . . .	Heminstone	15	half E.		Six acres of land still belonged to this church which Phim tulit
Blacham vel Blacheham	Blakenham	8	1 E.		Abbot of Eli p.
Mvlelfel . . .	Mickfield	8	1 E.		Ailsi had it as p. from his wife, but St. Ed. was then the p.
Berchingas vel Bechingas	Barking	83	1 E.		
Berchingas 2nd	(Needham?)	6	1		
Cratingas . . .	Creeting	83 & 12	1 E. & 1		Two chs. then existing
Badeleiam . . .	Badely	{ In Newton 12 & 14	{ 1 14		Aschil p. T. R. E. now Count Richard
Ringeshalam . . .	Ringshall†	{ 15? 20	{ half? half E.		
Betesfort . . .	Battisford				H. de Montfort p. and Eudo
Brixita . . .	Bricet	{ 20 15	{ half 1		De hac tra' (in the pah.) jacebant cuidam ecclesie 58 ac'
Mvoefelda	Mickfield				
Stanham . . .	Stonham	53			
Burghestala . . .	Burstall	36	1		
Brieseta . . .	Bricet	15	1 E.		
Estenam . . .	Earl Stonham?	14	1 E.		

* 1 ecclesia' xxac' q's' ibi deder' ix lib' hom' p. animab's suis.

† Some of the parishes are repeated more than once with variations—this may have arisen from the boundaries not being clear—as in Ringshall and Mickfield, and from several churches in the same parish.

BLIDINGA VEL BLIDIGGA HUND.—BLYTHING. H.

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Blideburg . . .	Blythborough . .	200	1	
Bufeldam . . .	Bulcamp or Bulkeham .	28	1 E.	
Walepola . . .	Walpole .	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 E.	
Torentuna et Wenadestuna . . .	Thorington & Wenaston .	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 E.	
Wissetta . . .	Wisset . .	200	1	
Cokeli . . .	Covehithe ? . .	1	half	
Vrabetuna . . .	. . ? . .	6	1	
Vggiceheala . . .	Uggeshall . .	sine terra	1	
Hvntingafelda . . .	Huntingfield . .	14	1	
Lehtvna . . .	Leiston or Layston .	100	3	
Dunevvic . . .	Dunwich . .	0	3	
Westlentuna . . .	Westleton . .	20	1	
Inasibetuna . . .	Sibton . .	0	3	
Dersam . . .	Darsham . .	3	1 E.	
Cidestan . . .	Cheddinton . .	16	5 parts	Quinque partes æccl.
Heweniggeha . . .	Heveningham . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	a fourth	Ulfketel p.
Opituna . . .	Stoven ? . .	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	half	
Stikelande . . .	. . ? . .	25	1	
Blideforda . . .	Blythford . .	12	1	
Alnetune . . .	Aldringham . .	2	1 E.	
Wretham . . .	Wrentham . .	8—40	1—1	
Mideltna . . .	Middleton . .	15	1	
Turintuna . . .	Theberton . .	8	1	
Riendunam . . .	Raydon . .	100	2	
Brantuna . . .	Brampton . .	16	1	
Froxedenam . . .	Frostenden . .	128	2	
Vpbestunam . . .	Ubbeston . .	3	1	
Cratfelda . . .	Cratfield . .	6	1	
Sudvetunam . . .	Sotherton . .	5	1	
Sudwolda . . .	Southwold or vold . .	0	0	Drogo de Bevreria p.

BABENBERGA—BAB'GA DVO HUND.—BABERGH H.

Ranavadisc . . .	?	30	1 E.	
Mellinga . . .	Milden or Milding . .	15	1 E.	Galter the deacon p.
Coniera . . .	Cornard . .	sine terra	1	
Eduardestuna . . .	Edwardston . .	30	1 E.	
Walingafella . . .	Waldingfield . .	30	1 E.	
Melaforda . . .	Melford . .	200	1 E.	p. St. Ed. 300 sheep, 40 eq. silvaticæ
P'stetvne . . .	. . ? . .	7	1 E.	The king gave it to the abbey
Illelia . . .	Monks Ely and Brent Ely	20	1 E.	The Holy Trinity holds the parish
Lawesselam . . .	Lawshall . .	30	1 E.	St. Benedict de Rame- seia p.
Clamesford . . .	Glemsford . .	30	1 E.	

NOTE.—The names in the Survey are the ancient ones, principally Saxon, A.D. 600 to 900, but some doubtless compounds of British and Saxon. They are derived either from persons, chiefs, &c. or situation in general.

BABERGH HUN. continued.

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Hertest . . .	<i>Hertest</i> . . .	80	1 E.	
Bvre or Bvra . . .	<i>Buers or Bures</i> . . .	18	1 E.	
Waldingafella . . .	<i>Waldingfeld</i> . . .	10	a third part	
Stokes . . .	<i>Stoke by Nayland</i> . . .	60	1 E.	
Stanesteda . . .	<i>Stanstead</i> . . .	25	1 E.	
Simplinga . . .	<i>Simpling</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Aretona . . .	<i>Acton, or Alpheton?</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Asetona . . .	<i>Assington</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Rodenham . . .	<i>A hamlet of Ranavidisc?</i>	20	1	
Neuertonata . . .	<i>Newton</i> . . .	8—30	1 & half	16 bee hives in the manor
Simplingham . . .	<i>Somerton?</i> . . .	60	1 E.	
Prestetona . . .	<i>Preston</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Polesteda . . .	<i>Polestead</i> . . .	0	0	viii equi in halla
Cornerda . . .	<i>Cornard</i> . . .	15	1	
Lauenham . . .	<i>Lavenham</i> . . .	0	0	1 arpentinus vineæ

BISCOPES* HUND.—HOXNE H.

Alrincha . . .	<i>Allington</i> . . .	6	a fourth	
Binnevettva . . .	<i>Bedfield?</i> . . .	40	1 E.	
Tatintvna . . .	<i>Tattington</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Laxefelda . . .	<i>Laxfield</i> . . .	43	1 E.	
Badinchia . . .	<i>Badingham</i> . . .	60	1 E.	
Stetebroc . . .	<i>Stradbrook</i> . . .	40	2 E.	
Cibbehala . . .	<i>Chebenhall</i> . . .	20	half	
Weibrada . . .	<i>Weybread</i> . . .	10—8	1 & an 8th	
Menham . . .	<i>Mendham</i> . . .	8th part of 5 & 8	1 E.	Octava pars alterii.
Carahallam . . .	<i>Carleton</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Delham . . .	<i>Denham</i> . . .	12	1 E.	
Svhama—Saham . . .	<i>Soham</i> . . .	50	1 E.	
Wyrlingwortham . . .	<i>Worlingworth</i> . . .	10	1 E.	
Cybenhallam . . .	<i>Chepenhall</i> . . .	20	half	
Mendham . . .	<i>Metyfield</i> . . .	20	1 E.	360 hogs in the wood
Hoxnam . . .	<i>Horne (sedes episcopi)</i>	100 acres in Hartesmere	1 E.	A large manor
Bedingafella . . .	<i>Bedingfield</i> . . .	6	a fourth	
Seilam . . .	<i>Syleham</i> . . .	16	1 E.	
Horan . . .	<i>Horham</i> . . .	22	1 E.	
Winetga . . .	<i>Wilby or Wingfield?</i>	24	1	
Wettingham . . .	<i>Wittingham</i> . . .	10	a fourth	<i>Vluric teinn.</i> p.

* Biscopes Hun. is now called Hoxne—it was then Bishop's Hundred, because the episcopal seat was at Thetford, the palace at Hoxne—it was removed after the Conquest to Norwich.

These lands were all bestowed by Saxons converted to Christianity on the churches in each parish, from the rational piety of perpetuating a resident clergyman amongst the parishioners, who were to look to him as their spiritual father—a dissent from such scriptural principles was then, and for ages after, unknown and unheard of. It would excite surprise in Turkey to find the principle of such endowments contested!

BLACKBRUNE HUND.—BLACKBOURN H.

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Nocturna . . .	<i>Norton?</i> . . .	20	1	
Littla Livemera . . .	<i>Little Livermere</i> . . .	12	1 E.	
Stantvna . . .	<i>Stanton</i> . . .	28—7	1 E. & a 4th	Quarta pars uni' secciae' de. vii. ac. tre.
Westuna . . .	<i>Weston</i> . . .	4	1 E.	
Telinettham . . .	<i>Thelinetham</i> . . .	20	1 E.	
Statunam . . .	<i>Stanton</i> . . .	28—7	1 and a 4th	
Elmeswellam . . .	<i>Elmswell</i> . . .	20	1 E.	
Hilderclea . . .	<i>Hinderclay</i> . . .	1	1 E.	
Richingehalla . . .	<i>Rickinghall</i> . . .	24	1 E.	
Cunegeftvna . . .	<i>Cony Weston, or Countston</i> . . .	8	1 E.	
Hunterstuna . . .	<i>Hunston</i> . . .	15	half	
Stoua . . .	<i>Stowlangtoft, or West Stow</i> . . .	40	1 E.	
Hepworda . . .	<i>Hepworth</i> . . .	15	1 E.	
Watlesfelda . . .	<i>Watchfeld, or Wattisfield</i> . . .	12	1 E.	
Hopetvna . . .	<i>Hopton</i> . . .	13	1 E.	
B'ningham . . .	<i>Barningham</i> . . .	15	1 E.	
Beord-wella . . .	<i>Bardwell</i> . . .	8	1 E.	
Sapetuna . . .	<i>Sapiston</i> . . .	6	2 parts	
Hvnegetuna . . .	<i>Hovington</i> . . .	20	1 E.	
Wridewella . . .	<i>Worowell</i> . . .	1	1 E.	
Eascefelda . . .	<i>Euston, or Ewston</i> . . .	12	1 E.	
Langham . . .	<i>Langham</i> . . .	20	1 E.	
Gnedeshalla . . .	<i>Knettishall</i> . . .	13	1 E.	
Westuna . . .	<i>Weston</i> . . .	12	1 E.	
Bernham . . .	<i>Barnham</i> . . .	8	half	

BRADMERA HUND. is now included in BLACKBOURNE H.

Ingham . . .	<i>Ingham</i> . . .	24	1 E.	
Stowa . . .	<i>West Stow, or Stowlangtoft</i> . . .	12	1 E.	
Fachenham . . .	<i>Fakenham</i> . . .	40	2	
Giswortham . . .	<i>Hepworth?</i> . . .	80	1 E.	
Walsam . . .	<i>Walsham</i> . . .	10	half	
Eascefelda . . .	<i>Ashfield?</i> . . .	9	1 E.	Alstan, a thegn T. R. E. now Pet. de Valonis Rob. Blund p.

CLAIDUNE HUND.—CLAYDON H.

Pettehaga . . .	<i>Pettough</i> . . .	2	1 E.	
Helmingheha . . .	<i>Helmingham</i> . . .	1	1 E.	
Frameedena . . .	<i>Framden</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Winestvna . . .	<i>Winston</i> . . .	8 & 12	2 E.	
Depbenha . . .	<i>Debenham</i> . . .	20 & 10	1 a third	
Wantesdana . . .		20 & 10	half, a fourth	Two parts belonging to St. Mary, one 4th to St. Andrew, one 4th down. Saxon p. T.R.E.
Preham . . .	<i>Parham</i> . . .	24	1 E.	
Turlestuna . . .	<i>Thurston</i> . . .	5	half E.	
Westrefelda . . .	<i>Westerfield</i> . . .	7½	half	
Hmingheham . . .	<i>Hemington</i> . . .	3	a fourth	
Depbehama . . .	<i>Debenham†</i> . . .	1&10	1	St. Mary, a 3rd to St. Andrew

* The Saxons who were permitted still to be patrons are in italic in this table.

† The saints to whom the churches were dedicated are but rarely mentioned. Chapels or aisles existed under one roof dedicated to different saints.

CLAYDON HUND. *continued.*

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Bercham . . .	<i>Barham</i> . . .	16	1 E.	St. Aldred p. belonging to St. Peter's, Ipswich. This church was shamefully robbed by Richard Count Gilbert
Turoluestuna . . .	<i>Thurleston</i> . . .	81	0	
Henleia . . .	<i>Henley</i> . . .	2	1	
Achreham . . .	<i>Akenhenham</i> . . .	12	3 parts	<i>Ecclæs Goduia presbyter p. now Roger de Ramis p.</i>
Totdenham . . .	<i>Tuddenham</i> . . .	20	1	
Suinlandam . . .	<i>Swilland</i> . . .	5	1 E.	Regina Edid p. T. R. E.
Henleæ . . .	<i>Henley</i> . . .	8	1 E.	
Assefelda . . .	<i>Ashfield</i> . . .	4	1 E.	
Perreham . . .	<i>Parham</i> . . .	6	a fourth	
Widituna . . .	<i>Whitton</i> . . .	10	1	In Rege

DIMIDIUM HUND. DE COSFORT—HALF HUND. OF COSFORD.

Corsforde . . .		30	1	
Tuleleham . . .	<i>Aldham</i> . . .	7	1 E.	
Bretham . . .	<i>Brettenham</i> . . .	24	1 E.	
Torp . . .	<i>Thorpe</i> . . .	52	1 E.	Val. vi sol.
Seameram . . .	<i>Semer, or Seamer</i> . . .	31	1	
Cerleswrdam . . .	<i>Chelsworth</i> . . .	30	1	p. not known. quicunque ibi tenet
Blalsegæ . . .		10	1	
Ferdingham . . .	<i>Felsham</i> . . .	2	1	
Hetlegam . . .	?	100	1 E.	Lanfranc Archbp. p.
Topeſfelda . . .	<i>Toppeſfield?</i> . . .	50	The church does not appear to have been built	<i>Leuona a freed woman gave 50 acres to the Holy Trinity at her death, which the Archbishop held in his life</i>
Hecham . . .	<i>Hecham, or Hitcham</i> . . .	2	1	St. Aldred p. 175 sheep in parish
Niedingam . . .	<i>Nedging</i> . . .	7	1	
Leiham, or Laleham . . .	<i>Layham</i> . . .	40	1 E.	
Elmesetam . . .	<i>Elmsett</i> . . .	15	1 E.	
Bileſtunam . . .	<i>Bildeston</i> . . .	40	1	<i>Thou, a thegn in T.R.E. p. Galterthe deacon p. the queen formerly p.</i>
Carescia . . .	<i>Kersey?</i> . . .	3	1 E.	

HUND. DE COLENESSSE—COLNES H.

Bykelesham . . .	<i>Bucklesham</i> . . .	8	1	
Waletuna . . .	<i>Walton</i> . . .	8	1	
Burch . . .	?	12	1	
Alteinestuna . . .	<i>Aleston?</i> . . .	{ 5	1 } 3	
Fylchestowæ? . . .	<i>Felixstow?</i> . . .	{ 8	1 } 3	
Leuetuna . . .	<i>Levington</i> . . .	8	1	

* She gave this for the purpose of building a church probably just before the Norman Conquest, and that Revolution had prevented it from taking effect. Stigand was Archbishop, but he was in Harold's interest—the land therefore was forfeit to the crown.

COLNES HUND. *continued.*

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Kirketuna . . .	<i>Kirton</i> . . .	6	1	
Strattvna . . .	<i>Stratton</i> . . .	10	1	
Brihtolnestana . . .	<i>Brightwell</i> . . .	6	1	
Halmelega . . .	<i>Hemly</i> . . .	8	1	

CARLEFORDA HUND. VEL EARLEFORDA—CARLFORD H.

Bischelea . . .	<i>Bealings</i> . . .	20	1	
Plegeforda . . .	<i>Playford</i> . . .	10	1	
Gresserauna . . .	<i>Kesgrave</i> . . .	2	half	
Tudenhā . . .	<i>Tuddenham</i> . . .	10	1	Val. xxd.
Culfola . . .	<i>Culpho</i> . . .	10	1	
Brihtewella . . .	<i>Brightwell</i> . . .	sine terra	1	
Burhe . . .	<i>Burgh</i> . . .	8	1	
Clopeta* . . .	<i>Clopton</i> . . .	15	1	De quatuor dominationibus
Merlesham . . .	<i>Martlesham</i> . . .	36	1	
Nuebrunna . . .	<i>Newbourn</i> . . .	12	1	
Aluredestuna . . .	<i>Hasketon</i> . . .	12	1	
Belinges . . .	<i>Bealings</i> . . .	20	1 E.	
Oteleia . . .	<i>Otley</i> . . .	20	1	<i>Umfrid camerarius p.</i> before the crown

CHINHOGE HUND.—THINGOE H.

Risebi . . .	<i>Riseby</i> . . .	24	1 E.	Træ' libæ' Abbey of St. Ed. p.
Horningesworda . . .	<i>Horningsheathe</i> . . .	6	1 E.	
Huepestede . . .	<i>Horse Croft</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Neotuna . . .	<i>Newton</i> . . .	8	1 E.	Bees here
Ceucentuna . . .	<i>Chevington</i> . . .	30	1 E.	Bees here
Leacforda . . .	<i>Lackford</i> . . .	20	1 E.	
Hemegretham . . .	<i>Hengrave</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Fornham . . .	<i>Fornham</i> . . .	12	1 E.	
Kkewortha . . .	<i>Ickworth</i> . . .	half	1 E.	
Sexham . . .	<i>Saxham</i> . . .	6	2 parts	Duas partes E†.
Flemingtuna . . .	<i>Flempston</i> . . .	8	1 E.	
Haldsteda . . .	<i>Halsted</i> . . .	30	1 E.	
Broclega . . .	<i>Brockley</i> . . .	6	1 E.	
Westlea . . .	<i>Westley</i> . . .	0	0	
Bury vel . . .	<i>Bury St. Edmunds</i> . . .	75	1	St. Gregory
Sutberie . . .		17	1 E.	
Westlea . . .	<i>Whepstead?</i> . . .	8	1 E.	
Redam . . .	<i>Reed or Rede</i> . . .	12	1 E.	
Haraguana . . .	<i>Hargrave</i> . . .	12	1 E.	

* It is curious to recognize a plurality of patrons. Here four presented. Their ancestors had probably built with this understanding—more than one in any part of the Survey is rare.

† Where this occurs, both ends were probably begun, or two aisles, and the work was going on—whereas when half is mentioned, so much of the plan was complete and the work stopped.

HUND. DE GEPESWIZ—IPSWICH H.

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Holy Trinity . . .	<i>Holy Trinity</i> . . .	26	1	<i>Anulf</i> Presbyter ht. p.*
St. Mary . . .	<i>St. Mary</i> . . .	26	1	<i>Culling</i> , a burgess ht. p.
St. " . . .	<i>St. Mary</i> . . .	26	1	<i>Lestan</i> , Presbyter p.
St. Augustin . . .	. . . . .	11	1	<i>Vluuin</i> , Presbyter p.
St. Michael . . .	. . . . .	8	1	
St. Botolph . . .	. . . . .	1	1	
St. Laurence . . .	<i>St. Lawrence</i> . . .	12	1	Disputed p.
St. Peter . . .	<i>St. Peter</i> . . .	1	1	<i>Wiggar</i> , a Saxon count, he had very large pos- sessions before the Con- quest—this ch. lost lands which produced £675 per ann. Count Richard p.
St. Stephen . . .	<i>St. Stephen</i> . . .	1	1	
Stoches . . .	<i>St. Mary Stoke</i> . . .	40	1	<i>St. Aldred</i> p.
St. George! . . .	. . . . .	1	1	Roger de Ramis p. for- merly a bishop of Ely
St. Julian . . .	. . . . .	20	1	<i>Auric</i> , tenet, the son of a burgess p.

HERTESMERA HUND.—HARTESMERE H.

Brisewrda . . .	<i>Brockford</i> . . .			Duas partes Ecclesiae
Rachingehala . . .	<i>Kickinghall</i> . . .	5	a fifth	
Melnessam . . .	<i>Mendlesham</i> . . .	sine terra	1	
Herteamere St. Peter	. . . ?	200	1	
Finingaham . . .	<i>Finingham</i> . . .	26	1	
Radingfelda . . .	<i>Redlingfield</i> . . .	12	1	
Wilibi . . .	<i>Wilby</i> ? . . .	8	1	
Melleis . . .	<i>Mellis</i> . . .	8	half E.	
Soches . . .	<i>Stoke Ash</i> . . .	15	1 E.	
Parva Thornham or				
Tornham . . .	<i>Little Thornham</i> . . .	10	a third	
Risangra . . .	<i>Rishangles</i> . . .	20	1 E.	
Torentuna . . .	<i>Thorndon</i> . . .	50	1 E.	
Acolt . . .	<i>Aspal, Occold,</i> . . .	8—12	1—1	3 begun and 1 finished
Brom . . .	<i>Oakley</i> . . .	17—15	1—1	
Wikham . . .	<i>Broom</i> . . .	14	half	
	<i>Wickham Skeith</i> . . .	12	1	
Wortham . . .	<i>Wortham</i> . . .	42	2	Tenuit <i>Alfeda liba' femi-</i>
Regua . . .	<i>Redgrave</i> . . .	30	1 E.	<i>na cond'ata' heroldi,&c.</i>
Palegrana . . .	<i>Palgrave</i> . . .	30	2	1 seccula. xii ac.
Acle et	. . .	12	1	<i>Modgeua</i> , a Saxon lady,
Stutesfuna . . .	<i>Stuston</i> . . .	23	1	p. T. R. E.

* It is unusual to find so many clergymen in one town as patrons—in all other cases where they are not mentioned the patronage was in the lord of the manor or some of his great tenants. The names have Latin terminations in the Survey, as Anulf—Anulfus.

The land in the table is principally arable, or under the plough—about one tenth in meadow, and of much the cultivation is not described.

The stock on the church land is mentioned, but not invariably.

HARTESMERE HUN. *continued.*

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches. an eighth	Remarks.
Menncham . . .	<i>Mendham?</i> . . .	40	1	
Frandestuna . . .	<i>Thrandiston</i> . . .	8	1	
Weringheseta . . .	<i>Wetheringsett</i> . . .	16	1	
Laletham . . .	<i>Thelnetham</i> . . .	7	1	
Aspella . . .	<i>Aspel Stonham</i> . . .	0	a third	
Burgata . . .	<i>Burgate</i> . . .	29	1	
Bachetun . . .	<i>Bacton</i> . . .	1	a fourth	Each had a share of the land.
Wivertestuna . . .	<i>Wiverton</i> . . .	24	1	
Thoram . . .	<i>Thornham</i> . . .	16	1 E.	
Eiam . . .	<i>Eye</i> . . .	3	pars	<i>Leunis</i> , a freedman formerly p.
Kaldecotes . . .	? . . .	200	1	Hubert de Monte canecio [p.]
		24	1	St. Peter

PLUMESGATA HUND.—PLOMESGATE H.

Cesefordta . . .	<i>Chilford</i> . . .	5	1 E.	
Gliemham . . .	<i>Glemham</i> . . .	10	half	
Rimdhamb . . .	<i>Rendham</i> . . .	24	1 E.	
Glimham . . .	<i>Glemham</i> . . .	15	1 E.	
Aldeburec . . .	<i>Aldeburgh</i> . . .	60	2	
Snapes . . .	<i>Snape</i> . . .	8	1	
Torp or Thorp . . .	<i>Thorp</i> . . .	30	2	
Svtbourn . . .	<i>Sudbourn</i> . . .	16	1	
Saxmondeham . . .	<i>Saxmundham</i> . . .	15	1 E.	
Samundeham . . .	? . . .	24	2 E.	
Sudburnham . . .	<i>Sudbourn?</i> . . .	8	1	

PERREHAM DIM. HUND.*

Brutge . . .	<i>Bruisyard</i> . . .	6	a fourth	†
Wantedsana . . .	<i>Wantedsden</i> . . .	10	a fourth	

LACHEFORDA VEL LACKFORDS HUND.—LACKFORD H.

Todenham . . .	<i>Tuddenham</i> . . .	30	E.	Curious! just begun, I conjecture
Hereswella . . .	<i>Heringswell</i> . . .	60	1 E.	900 sheep
Codesworda per beruita . . .	<i>A Hamlet</i> . . .	60	1 E.	
Mildenehalla . . .	<i>Mildenhall</i> . . .	64	1	
Helvedona† . . .	<i>Eleodon?</i> . . .	15	1	
Wirlintona . . .	<i>Worlington</i> . . .	sine terra	1	<i>Ormer</i> p. T. R. E. a gentleman
Hyrningwellam . . .	<i>Herringswell</i> . . .	30	1 E.	St. Ed. p.
Wanfordam . . .	<i>Wangford</i> . . .	15	1 E.	
Elvedenam . . .	<i>Eleodon</i> . . .	15	1 E.	
Dunham . . .	<i>Downham</i> . . .	20	1 E.	900 sheep in maner
Frakenaham . . .	<i>Frakenham</i> . . .	20	1 E.	<i>Orthi</i> , a Thgn p. T.R.E. 2 fish pools here
Brandona . . .	<i>Brandon</i> . . .	30	1 E.	11 asini in the parish, which is a singularity
Laringahetha . . .	<i>Lakenheathe</i> . . .	60	1 E.	

* This half-hundred seems now merged in Plomesgate Hundred. In some cases the parishes are now in adjoining Hundreds as *Mendham*.

† The manner in which patronage was treated may be noticed in this instance. In eadē' quarta' parts' ecclesie' tenet ide' normani' de x ac. quas tenuit quida' suus comat' tr. r. e. The church is treated like any other private property.

‡ Names it is probable are sometimes repeated with a little variation in the spelling.

LACKFORD HUND. *continued.*

Ancient Names	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Lundale . . .	<i>Loundham or Pettistree</i>	sine terra	1 E.	
Haluedona . . .	<i>Icklingham?</i>	15	1 E.	
Helvedana . . .	?	15	1	
Canauatham . . .	<i>Cavenham</i>	60	1 E.	Canute there?

LUDINGALANDA HUND.—LOTHINGLAND H.

Sumerledetuna . . .	<i>Somerleyton</i>	0	1	
Burch . . .	<i>Burgh Castle</i>	10	1	<i>Stigand</i> Archbishop of Canterbury held it in the time of Edward the Confessor
Barneby . . .	<i>Barneby</i>	80	1	
Ricemara . . .	<i>Rushmere</i>	8	a fourth	

HUNDRET DE LOSA—LOES H.

Chettlebiriga . . .	<i>Kettleburgh</i>	16	1	
Dullingahou . . .	<i>Dallingho</i>	31	1	
Gatagraua . . .	<i>Gedgrave</i>	12	1	
Gretingaha . . .	<i>Cretingham</i>	18	1	
Frameingha . . .	<i>Framlingham</i>	60	1	
Stauertuna . . .	<i>Staerton</i>	10	1	
Kenetuna . . .	<i>Kenton</i>	30	1	
Remleasham* and Rendi . . .	<i>Rendlesham</i>	20	1	
Wvdebrige . . .	<i>Woodbridge</i>	19	1	
Mvndegena . . .	<i>Monewden</i>	30	1	
Hov . . .	<i>Hooe</i>	8	1	
Ledringaham . . .	<i>Letheringham</i>	20	1	
Halmdiga . . .	<i>Hacheston?</i>	8	1	
Bramstuna . . .	<i>Brandeston</i>	60	1	<i>Admuna</i> a priest, T.R.E. he received land with his wife, with her consent he settled on the ch. 60 acres
Brantestuna . . .				
Gretingaham . . .	<i>Cretingham</i>	8	1	
Kettleberga . . .	<i>Kettleburgh</i>	30	1	

MUTFORDA HUND.—MUTFORD H.

Ludingha . . .		43	Ecclesiæ†
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RISEBRUGE HUND.—RISBRIDGE H.

Haverhill . . .	<i>Haverhill</i>	5	1	Tihill de Herion p.
Witeskeou . . .	<i>Wickham</i>	5	1 E.	

* The rental of the church land is calculated at about 2d. per acre—20 acres 40d.

† Some other parishes will be found in the adjoining Hundreds, but many have no churches and are therefore not in this table.

RISBRIDGE HUND. continued.

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Badmondesfelda . .	<i>Badmonsfield a hamlet of Wickham.</i>	10	1	
Bradeleia . .	<i>Bradley</i>	15	1 E.	
Cvlinge . .	<i>Cudlidge or Cowldige a hamlet of Clare</i>	50	1 E.	
Vuesdana . .		30	1 E.	
Thurstanestuna . .	<i>Thurston</i>	15	half E.	*
Hauvhenduna . .	<i>Hawkedon</i>	15	half	
Clara . .	<i>Clare</i>	2400	1	<i>St. John p. all this was seized by William R.</i>
Hunendanan . .	<i>Hundon</i>	{ 50 4½	1 E. { 1	
Deselingam . .	<i>Denston</i>	150	2	
Dalham . .	<i>Dalham</i>	40	1	
Denham . .	<i>Denham</i>	sine terra	1	
Wratinga . .	<i>Wrating 2</i>	{ 13 32	1 E. { 1	
Stanefelda . .	<i>Stanfield</i>	15	1 E.	
Tridlaua . .	<i>Thurlow</i>	28	1 E.	
Stoches . .	<i>Stoke by Clare</i>	60	1 E.	
Stratesella . .	<i>Stradishall</i>	30	1 E.	
Depdanam . .	<i>Depden</i>	24	1 E.	
Kiditunam . .	<i>Kedington or Ketton</i>	40	1 E.	
Poshingewrda . .	<i>Poshingford</i>	40	1 E.	
Wlteskeou . .		5	E.	

STOV or STO HUND.—STOW H.

Tornea, Tornei, Vltun { and Ciltun . .	<i>Thorney, Stowmarket Upland, Chilton</i>	24	2 E.	R. Bigot E. of Norfolk with consent of the crown p. 26 acres in Onehouse belonged <i>secclæ Sto.</i>
Dagaworda . .	<i>Dagworth</i>	{ 30 sine terra	half { 1	H. de Montfort p.
Combas . .	<i>Combe</i>	0	1	p. same as Stowmarket
Fineborga . .	<i>Finborough</i>	31	1	Rog. de Oburville p.
Anehus . .	<i>Onehouse</i>	3	1	<i>Ketel a Thegn p. then R. Peverell</i>
BukeSELLA . .	<i>Bushall</i>	30	1	W. de Warren p.
Hagala . .	<i>Haughley</i>	31½	1	H. de Montfort p.
Heroluestun . .	<i>Harston</i>	25	1	p. St. Ed.
Newetun . .	<i>Old Newton</i>	10	a sixth	p. St. Ed. and H. de Montfort?
Westderdene . .	<i>Wetherden</i>	16	half	Abbot of Bernay p.
Gratingas 1 or C. .	<i>Greeting 1</i>	0	half	Galter de St. Waferic p.
Gratinga 2 . .	<i>Greeting 2</i>	10	half	in T.R.E. a freedman p.
Ervestuna—Escefella	<i>Totshill</i>	0	1	H. de Montfort p.

* In 1732 the chapel was used as a barn (1st Ed. Kirby.) Does this sacrilegious practice continue? It would have been better to pull it down if not wanted.

SANFORT HUND.—SAMFORD H.

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Hercheatedam	Harkstead	24	1	Edeva the beautiful, p. T. R. E.
Belestedam	Belstead	34	1 E.	Countess of Albemarle p.
Scoteleia	Shotley	52	2	
Hintlesham	Hintlesham	35	1 & half	
Guthulues fordham	Cheimondiston*	8	a third	
Hecham	?	2	pars	Edeva the fair p. T. R. E.
Boituna	?	6	a fourth	
Brantfort	Brantham	30	1	
Dodenes	Dodnash ?	30		Ecclesiae
Vluerestuna†	Wolverston	10		Ecclesiae
Heilham	Higham	3	a fifth	
Reinduna	Raydon or Roydon	5	a fifth	Edui a Gent. p. ?
Wenham	Wenham	{ 20	1	Tuneman a thegn had been p. and Auti a thegn
Heckham	?	6	a fourth }	
Frestunam	Freston	4	1 E.	Quedam ecclesiae
Stratford‡	Strafford	0	0	Suen p.
Painetuna	Peyton	20	1 E.	
Holetuna	Holton	3	1 E.	
Belesteda	Bentley?	24	E.	
Scottuna	Shotley	0	a fourth	
Stotuna	Stutton	15	a third	
Torintunam	Tattingstone	15	half	
		50	1	Archp. of Cant. p. T. R. E.

THEOD WARDES TREO HUND.—THEDWESTRE H.

Bertunam	Beyton	50	1 E.	De lib' ter' ptin' p. Ele- mosina
Packenham	Pakenham	30	1 E.	" "
Fornham	Fornham	16	1 E.	" "
Rechham	Rougham	40	1 E.	" "
Bradefeldam	Bradfield	10	1 E.	" "
Genonefeorham	Fornham St. Genevese	14	1 E.	" "
Thorstunam or Tor	Thurston	30	1 E.	" "
Eteseca	{	12	1	
Fealsham	Felsham	15	1	
Geldinga	Gedding	10	1 E.	
Hvelfisham	Welmetham	6	1 E.	
Timwrtha	Timworth	40	2	
Hametuna	Ampton	30	1 E.	
Totstocha	Tostock	8	1 E.	
Stanesfela	Stanningfield	12	1 E.	
Livermeram	Livermere	16	1 E.	St. Eldred p.
Drinceftona	Drinkston	12	1 E.	St. Eldred p.
Ratesdana or Ratlesdena	Rattlesden	12	1	The abbey held land and manors in 148 parishes in Suffolk, and had the patronage of most of the churches!!

* This is one of the most curious corruptions of an original name—Guthlum's or Gurthrum's ford, where the Danish chief crossed the river.

† The V has the force of U or W in all these Saxon words.

‡ This is the Cambretonium of some historians, but it was most probably at Lindsey or Kersey, vide chap. 2.

|| The population was 475—600 acres were under the plough—wood was large—90 sheep kept—Hunfrid and Gosalin 2 tenants—also aliv.

WILEFORDA HUND.—WILFORD H.

Ancient Names.	Modern Names.	Acres.	Churches.	Remarks.
Holeslea . . .	<i>Holesley</i> . . .	14	1	
Abretuna . . .	<i>Alderton</i> . . .	24	1	
Baldescea . . .	<i>Bawdsey</i> . . .	20	1	
Suttuna . . .	<i>Sutton</i> . . .	20	1	
Boituna . . .	<i>Boyton</i> . . .	8	1	
Caresfelda . . .		26	1 E.	
Bredefelda . . .	<i>Bredfield</i> . . .	36	1	
Capeles . . .	<i>Capell</i> . . .	12	1	
Brames . . .		25	1	
Stokerianda . . .	?	13	1	
Meltuna . . .	<i>Melton</i> . . .	16	1	
Berdefelda . . .	<i>Bredfeld</i> . . .	30	1	
Depebes . . .	<i>Debach</i> . . .	8	1	
Capseiam . . .	?	60	1	
Brumesuelle . . .	<i>Bromeswell</i> . . .	6	1	

WANNEFORDA HUND. VEL WANEFORT.—WANGFORD H.

Ringesfella . . .	<i>Ringfield</i> . . .	0	1	
Bongeia . . .	<i>Bungay</i> . . .	0	1	
Burghea . . .	?	12—8—30	3	
Westuna . . .	<i>Weston</i> . . .	20	1	
Almham . . .	<i>All Saints?</i> . . .	{ 8	1	Ad. E. de 40 robure val. xiid.
Bersham . . .	<i>Barsham</i> . . .	6	1	
Beclies . . .	<i>Beccles</i> . . .	24	1	St. Ed. p.*
Hombresfelda . . .	<i>Homersfield</i> . . .	{ 12	1	600 swine. Almer the Bp p. in T. R. E.
Halmeham . . .	<i>Southelham</i> . . .	30	1	
Flixtuna . . .	<i>Flixton</i> . . .	6	1	
Wari . . .	<i>Worlingham?</i> . . .	12	half	
		40	1	
Bungheia . . .	<i>Bungay</i> . . .	20	1	
Metingaha . . .	<i>Mettingham</i> . . .	20	1	
Eleheteshala . . .	<i>Ilketshall</i> . . .	20	1	
Soterlega . . .	<i>Sotterly</i> . . .	7	1	
Willinga . . .	<i>Willingham</i> . . .	40	1	
Flixtuna 2 . . .	<i>Flixton</i> . . .	10	half	
Linburna . . .	?	5	half	
Almea . . .	?	40	1	Val. xiid.

* The derivation of this name from Beata Ecclesia appears very far-fetched; Beccles is a Saxon word, signifying of the brook—or the church of the stream or river—Becces g. case sing. from *Becc* a stream,—the *i* was inserted from its connecting it with the Latin Ecclesia.

HUNDREDS.	Churches complete.	Half.	Thirds.	Fourths.	Three Fourths.	Fifths.	Sixths.	Undefined	Total A.D. 1086.	Acre.
Bosmera.....	22	9		2					33	599½
Blidiga.....	34	2		1					38	988
Babenberga.....	22	1	1	3		1			24	838
Bisopes.....	16	3		2					22	490
Blackbrune.....	22	2		2				2 parts	27	380
Bradmera.....	6	1							7	175
Claidune.....	15	4		2	1				22	327
Cosfort.....	14								14	440
Colenesse.....	11								11	99
Corleforda.....	12	1							13	175
Chinhoe vel Tingohv	17							2 parts	18	380
Gepewz.....	12								12	173
Herteamera.....	24	5	2	1		1		2 parts	34	937
Lackforda.....	16				1				16	509
Ludingalandia.....	3								4	98
Losa.....	17								17	392
Mutforda.....	0								0	43
Plumesgata.....	18	1			2				16	231
Risebruge.....	22	2							24	307½
Stov or Stowe.....	10	4					1		15	210½
Sanfort.....	11	2	2	3		2		4	24	396
Theod Wardes Treo	20								20	387
Wileforda.....	15								15	328
Wanheforda.....	19	4							23	382
	373	41	5	17	1	4	1	7	449	12054½

Churches in the Hundred in 1291, in Pope Nicholas's valuation of the Benefices in the Deanery of Stowe.

A church of St. Peter
 A church of St. Mary
 Vicarage of the same with (Gipping)
 Church of Combes
 Abbot of Gresteyn in Combes
 Church of Cretyn St. Peter
 Prior of Eye in Cretyn
 Church of Cretyn All Saints
 Church of Haghelle
 Vicarage of the same
 A church in Wetherden
 A church in Heriston
 A church in Buxhall
 Prior of Stokes there
 A church in Newton
 A church in Ffynbergh magna
 A church in Ffynburgh pva.

Names of Parishes and their Lords from the King's Remembrancer in 1316.

Haughele	The King
Stowe	Abbot of St. Osythe
Wetherden	{ Abbot of St. Edmund Rad. de Scales
Combes	{ Rob. de Ufford John de Thorp
Ffynburgh	{ Wm. de Boyton Prior de Buttele
Onhous	{ John Pippard Rob. Fitzwalton
Buxhall	{ Bart. Damellers Rich. Waylande
Thorney	{ Rog. Sturmy Rob. Cokerel
Newton and Gipinge	John de Tendringe
Newton vetus (Dagworth)	Ric. de Amondeville
Cretynge.....	Arnald de Munteny
Hariston.....	Will. de Boyton
Shellonde	Thos. de Latymer
	Prior de Buttele
	Rob. Belet

Harl. Lib. 639, 128 p.

- 17 Nov. 1345, Joes Smart (pmut cum Stradbrook) ad præs eorund.
- 27 Jan. 1346, Will. de Brokkeley (pmut cum Med de How) ad præs eorund.
- 11 Feb.
- 4 Jun. 1449, Joes Bullok de Framlingham ad præs eorund.
- 16 Jun. 1359, Lucas de Stebbing ad præs eorund.
- 16 Feb. 1360, Ric. Foot ad præs eorund.
- 27 Sept. 1375, Dns. Rads de Stow-mercatt ad præs eorund—test ejus dat et prob. 1397, Hara. 237.
- 15 Dec. 1397, Dns. Rob. Browning ad præs eorund.
- 19 Nov. 1398, Joes Burgeys de Halesworth.
- 27 Jul. 1403, Will. Lenchwyh (pmut cum Westacre S. Petri) ad præs eorund.
- 15 Maii 1409, Tho. Brandewyn (pmut cum Willesford Line) ad præs eorund.
- 2 Aug. 1410, Tho. Diaper (pmut cum Sibthorp Ebor) ad præs eorund.
- 26 Jan. 1411, Joes Rastolf ad præs eorund.
- 2 Apr. 1421, Will. Goodhouse de Wyverston ad præs eorund.
- Joes Holym.
- 23 Nov. 1429, Mr. Joes Dalanio als Harleston (pmut cum Heggesete) ad præs eorund.
- 23 Dec. 1437, Joes Boteler ad præs eorund—test ejus dat 21 Jan. 1459, Prob. 21 Maii 1460 (Epal. in Cone) Brosyd. 191.
- 29 Jan. 1459, Will. Batayle ad præs eorund.
- 22 Mart. 1462, M. Tho. Harwode ad præs eorund.
- Mart. 1479, Will. Langton ad præs eorund.
- 19 Aug. 1479, Mr. Will. Duffield in Dec. B. ad præs eorund.
- Will. Steward.
- 10 Oct. 1492, Mr. Hen. Goodwyn ad præs eorund.
- 13 Sept. 1517, Mr. Tho. Wotton ad præs eorund.
- 17 Feb. 1529, Joes Walker ad præs eorund.
- 8 Jan. 1540, Chtoph. Lamhede ad præs Dni. Rx.
- 20 Maii 1546, Ant. Forest ad præs Dni Rx.
- 29 Mart. 1348, Joes Thorp (Vic. S. Mary) ad præs Thæ Darcy Mil. (unit.)
- 12 Nov. 1554, Henr. Grymshawe ad præs ejusd (in Eccliam. de Stowmarket.) 1555
- 19 Jan. 1556, Tho. Younger ad præs assign ejusd. Tho. Hyram (Vic.) ad præs Joes Hewes 1576. Sudb. ac.
- 9 Jul. 1589, Will. Peagrim (Vic.) ad præs Dni Rx. p. lapse 1604.
- 17 Jun. 1608, Tho. Philippa A.M. ad præs Ric. How Gen.
- 10 Nov. 1625, Ric. Pernham S. Th. B. ad præs Joes How 1627, unit S. Marie.
- 27 Mart. 1628, Tho. Yonge ad præs ejusd 1636 one of ye Ass. of divines 1643, Cal. 1, 84, Mas. of Jesus Coll.
- 17 Sept. 1660, Tho. Huxley ad præs ejusd. 1662 Cons.
- 9 Feb. 1662, Sam. Blackerby ad præs Thomæ Blackerby Arm. Vicariæ St. Marie et St. Petri in Stowmarket.
- 6 Maii 1675, Ric. Shute ad præs ejusd. Unit St. Marie.
- 24 Jun. 1687, [Sam. Farr ad præs ejusd. Vic. St. Petri et St. Marie.
- 5 Jul. 1710, Hen. Darby ad præs Sam. Blackerby Arm. Vic. Stowmarket unit Stowupland.

The Rev. H. Johnston was Vicar, and three Vicar Aldrich's of the same family in succession, until 1837, when the present Incumbent, became Patron, the advowson having been presented to him by his father, Samuel Hollingsworth, Esq., formerly Colonial Secretary in the Island of Guadalupe.

APPENDIX No. 3.

There is a CHALYBEATE SPRING in Buxhall vale on the property of Mr. Garnham, and springs of a somewhat similar character on the estate of the Rev. Copinger Hill at Buxhall.

Water clear and sparkling sp. gr. 1,012. There is held in solution by the water charged with a quantity of carbonic acid—

Carbonate of lime—in considerable quantity
Carbonate of Magnesia—in small quantity

Oxide of iron—(existing in the water probably as a proto. carbonate) in considerable quantity
Oxilinda of lime _____
of magnesia } in small quantity
_____ of soda
Gypsum—a trace.*

This water cures sore eyes and agues, and travellers often call for it.

* C. R. Bree, Esq. Stowmarket.

APPENDIX No. 4.

The Bishops of East Anglia (or Norwich) from William of Malmesbury.

Felix, a Burgundian, a man of great evangelical labours. He founded schools in opportunis locis.
Thomas, his deacon.

Boniface.

Bisus, vir venerabilis. After this for some years there were two Bishops of the Province, one at Dunwich the other at Helmhaham in Norfolk—one suffragan the other superior?

<i>Baldwin and Heta</i>	<i>Æthelwulf and Eglof</i>
<i>Notburt and Astulf</i>	<i>Huford and Eudred</i>
<i>Netholac and Edred</i>	<i>Sigge and Athan</i>
<i>Edelfrid and Cuthwin</i>	<i>Alherd and Titfrid</i>
<i>Lamferd and Albrith</i>	<i>[dred] Humbrith & Wesemund & Wil-</i>

then *Episcopi necessariorum copia destituta sunt*—and so one was appointed at Helmhaham. The sea probably washed down the greater part of Dunwich, which in that age would be considered a significant of Providence for the removal of the see!

<i>Athalif</i>	<i>2 Ælfrics</i>
<i>Afric</i>	<i>Stigand sed ejectus</i>
<i>2 Theodreds</i>	<i>Grinketel pro astro</i>
<i>Athelstan</i>	<i>Ethelmer</i>
<i>Algar</i>	<i>Herfast</i>
<i>Alfwini</i>	<i>Herbert Losing, fuit vir ille magnus in Anglia symonia fomes—he transferred the seat from Thetford to Norwich.</i>

APPENDIX No. 5.

Tables of Longevity for the Hundred of Stow, and the County generally, and a comparative Estimate of other Counties, with the Population, Increase, &c.

The population increases in the Hundred in a gradual progression, and this is a much surer test of healthiness than longevity alone. In 31 years the deaths were 3672, the births 6288. In the town in this period the deaths were 1173, the baptisms 1862, shewing its great increase and healthiness.

Most persons however are desirous of longevity even if they are to suffer for it. If they wish to choose a long-lived district for a residence, none better than this can be selected.

The longest lived counties in England and Wales are Norfolk, Suffolk, and Rutland, as may be seen in the last of these tables which has been formed from the Registrar General's Report of 1841. And the longest lived district in Suffolk is Stow, Bosmere, Hartismere, or the midland district in the county.

These are tables of *Longevity* and not of health. Health may exist in a district in a very perfect form and yet the district not be favourable to long life. Whereas in obtaining ten years length of life from 75 to 85 much suffering may have to be endured. An atmosphere will brace the constitution and prolong life, and yet suffering may arise, whilst in

another district life may not be so long but be accompanied with less trial. This district is very healthy, but we are not always to conclude that the longest lived district is one where there is the least suffering.

STOWMARKET WITH STOWUPLAND.

Marriages from	1559 to 1569 (inclusive)	91
Births from	1559 to 1569	254
Burials from	1559 to 1569	138
Marriages from	1659 to 1669	90*
Births from	1659 to 1669	546
Burials from	1659 to 1669	538
Marriages from	1759 to 1769	196
Births from.....	1759 to 1769	515
Burials from	1759 to 1769	447
Marriages from	1832 to 1842	240
Births from.....	1832 to 1842	874
Burials from	1832 to 1842	634

Extracted from Parish Registers.

* During the 20 years of Revolution from 1640 to 1660, the population was greatly reduced.

The Population Returns by the Census, of the Hundred of Stowe.

	In 1831.	In 1841.
Buxhall	466	533
Combs	950	1064
Creeting St. Peter ..	166	213
Newton with Dagworth	679	712
Great Finborough ..	421	467
Little Finborough ..	73	64
Gipping, hamlet to } Stowmarket....}	87	93
Harleston	89	90
Haughley.....	908	916
Onehouse.....	169	211
House of Industry..	189	91
Shelland	126	109
Stowmarket with } Chilton hamlet }	2673	3041
Stowupland	826	902
Wetherden	487	514
In 1821 ... 7536	<u>8308</u>	<u>9020</u>
In the County a.d. 1066	40,000*	
In the Hundred of Stow	3846	
In 1801...210,431. 1811...234,211. 1821...270,542. 1831...296,317. 1841...315,073.		

Excess of females over males in 1841 in the county 6883.
In the town of Stowmarket 203 more females than males.

In England and Wales in 1841, { one in 18 lived to 80 to 90
one in 123 lived to 90 to 100
one in 3333 lived to 100 to 105 } thousand deaths.
{ one in 11 lived to 70 to 80
one in 6 lived to 70 & upwards }
In the Hundred of Stow hu- { one in 11 lived to 80 to 90
one in 94 lived to 90 to 100
one in 3672 lived to 100 to 104 } deaths
man life is... { one in 7 lived to 70 to 80
one in 4 lived to 70 & upwards } in 31 years.

When the births exceed the deaths the population increases in geometrical progression. Thus 100 persons in 1801, increased in 1821 to 132, and in 1841 to 175, and will be 200 in the year 1850.

Grain, fruit, and animals increase in the same proportion.

When the deaths increase, the births increase.

The women do not marry until they attain a mean age of 24, 3,—and the men until they are 25½ (on the

whole population of England and Wales.) One fifth never marry.

1841. England	15,000,154
Wales	911,603
Scotland	2,620,184
Army and Navy....	188,453
British Islands	124,040
	18,844,434
Ireland.....	<u>8,000,000</u>

CRIME.

From 1509 in 38 years 72,000 persons were put to death, being an average of 252 annually in a population of 4,000,000. Now in a population of 19,000,000 only 9 to 10 are put to death annually.

<i>Stowmarket with</i>	{ One in 12 deaths was 70 & upwards
<i>Gipping hamlet</i>	{ One in 146 deaths was 90 to 100
1841	{ One in 12 deaths was 80 to 90
Population 3134	{ One in 8 deaths was 70 to 80
<i>Stowupland</i>	{ One in 5 deaths was 70 & upwards
Population 902	{ One in 164 deaths was 90 to 100
	{ One in 11 deaths was 80 to 90
	{ One in 11 deaths was 70 to 80
<i>Hawleigh</i>	{ One in 5 deaths was 70 & upwards
Population 916	{ One in 435 deaths was 104
	{ One in 62 deaths was 90 to 100
	{ One in 13 deaths was 80 to 90
	{ One in 8 deaths was 70 to 80
<i>Wetherden</i>	{ One in 5 deaths was 70 & upwards
Population 514	{ One in 90 deaths was 90 to 100
	{ One in 13 deaths was 80 to 90
	{ One in 8 deaths was 70 to 80
<i>Bushall</i>	{ One in 3 deaths was 70 & upwards
Population 533	{ One in 59 deaths was 90 to 100
	{ One in 12 deaths was 80 to 90
	{ One in 6 deaths was 70 to 80
<i>Onehouse</i>	{ One in 4 deaths was 70 & upwards
Population 211	{ One in 101 deaths was 90 to 100
	{ One in 11 deaths was 80 to 90
	{ One in 8 deaths was 70 to 80
<i>Finborough</i>	{ One in 3 deaths was 70 & upwards
<i>Magna</i>	{ One in 40 deaths was 90 to 100
Population 421	{ One in 8 deaths was 80 to 90
	{ One in 7 deaths was 70 to 80
<i>Finborough</i>	{ One in 3 deaths was 70 & upwards
<i>Parva</i>	{ One in 53 deaths was 90 to 100
Population 64	{ One in 6 deaths was 80 to 90
	{ One in 6 deaths was 70 to 80

* This is computed on a period of 31 years (1813 to 1843)
Fractions left out.

<i>Greeting St. Peter</i>	{ One in 6 deaths was 70 & upwards One in 110 deaths was 90 to 100	<i>Harleston</i>	{ One in 12 deaths was 70 & upwards 1841 None of 90
Population 213	{ One in 27 deaths was 80 to 90 One in 9 deaths was 70 to 80	Population 90	{ One in 25 deaths was 80 to 90 One in 25 deaths was 70 to 80
<i>Greeting All Saints</i>	{ One in 4 deaths was 70 & upwards One in 22 deaths was 90 to 100	<i>Old Newton with Dagworth</i>	{ One in 4 deaths was 70 & upwards One in 55 deaths was 90 to 100
Population 286	{ One in 38 deaths was 80 to 90 One in 5 deaths was 70 to 80	Population 712	{ One in 15 deaths was 80 to 90 One in 7 deaths was 70 to 80
<i>Combe</i>	{ One in 9 deaths was 70 & upwards One in 12 deaths was 80 to 1000		
Population 1064	{ One in 4 deaths was 70 to 80		

Table of Deaths from all causes in Suffolk, 1841.

MALES.

FEMALES

	Risbridge—Sudbury											
Old age	66	36	33	105	60	71	63	72	55	43	118	71
Deaths from other causes	939	475	509	1269	778	897	774	1429	534	407	1364	862
Died from old age one in	14	13	15	12	12	12	13	19	9	9	11	12
	Cosford—Sanford			Woodbridge— Plomesgate	Blything— Wangford— Hoxne— Hartismere	Bury St. Edmunds Thingoe— Mildenhall	Risbridge— Sudbury	Cosford— Sanford	Ipswich	Bosmere— Hoxne— Hartismere	Woodbridge— Plomesgate	Blything— Wangford— Hoxne— Hartismere

Table of Ages of Old Persons dying in Suffolk, 1841:

FEMALE.

MALES.

	Risbridge—Sudbury	Conford—Samford	Ipswich	Bosmere—Stow—Hoxne—Hartismere	Woodbridge—Plomegate	Blything—Mutford—Wangford	Bury St. Edmunds—Thingoe—Mildenhall	Total	Risbridge—Sudbury	Conford—Samford	Ipswich	Bosmere—Stow—Hoxne—Hartismere	Woodbridge—Plomegate	Blything—Mutford—Wangford	Bury St. Edmunds—Thingoe—Mildenhall	Total
70 to 75	23	28	16	43	29	27	17	90	23	17	12	41	39	28	87	
75 to 80	23	22	7	57	22	24	15	95	24	14	9	35	35	27	87	
80 to 85	23	12	8	33	17	29	10	95	25	13	5	31	19	13	87	
85 to 90	13	14	11	17	15	29	5	100	13	2	2	2	7	5	87	
90 to 95	3	...	3	7	3	17	1	105	13	1	1	1	1	5	87	
95 to 100	3	...	1	6	3	2	...	110	157	157	1	1	1	1	87	
100 to 105	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100 to 105	51	35	118	86	113	32	87
105 to 110	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	105 to 110	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
110 to ?	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	110 to ?	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	88	77	45	164	89	114	73	650	87	51	35	157	86	113	616	